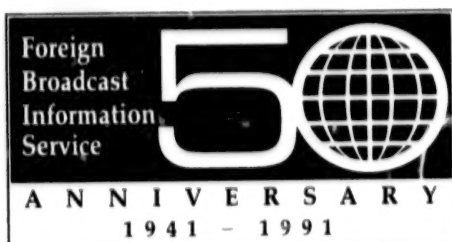


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22 FEBRUARY 1991



JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

FBIS 50th Anniversary Note

To Our Consumers:

This year the Foreign Broadcast Information Service observes its 50th anniversary.

The service, first called the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service, was established in 1941 prior to the U.S. entry into World War II. At the time, a number of U.S. Government officials were concerned about the content of foreign radio broadcasts—a relatively new means of conveying information and propaganda across borders. On their advice, President Franklin D. Roosevelt in late February 1941 allotted money from his emergency fund to institute the recording, translating, transcribing, and analyzing of selected foreign broadcasts for the U.S. Government. During World War II the service demonstrated that monitoring was a fast, economical, and reliable way to follow overseas developments.

Today the Foreign Broadcast Information Service provides its consumers throughout the federal government, according to their diverse official interests, with information from a broad range of foreign public media. FBIS information also is available to readers outside of the government, through the National Technical Information Service. Objectivity, accuracy, and timeliness are our production watchwords.

We members of the current staff of FBIS extend our thanks to consumers for their interest in FBIS products. To past staffers we extend our thanks for helping the service reach this anniversary year. At the same time, we pledge our continued commitment to providing a useful information service.



R. W. Manners
Director
Foreign Broadcast Information Service

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-91-014

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Steps Taken To Establish Trade Ties To Turkey

Minister Pledges Friendship

91AS0426A Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
4 Dec 90 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt] This month's episode of Mehmet Ali Birand's television show "32d Day," which was broadcast last night on Channel 1, was very successful as always. In the first portion of the program Birand focused on a treaty signed in Paris which ended a period of enmity and opened a new era in Europe. He then turned to Prime Minister Thatcher's resignation and presented a film depicting important moments in Thatcher's life accompanied by Frank Sinatra's "I Did It My Way." This portion of the program was a good piece of work in itself. Birand then focused on the present situation in Romania and presented an interview he had with Romanian President Iliescu. Then he moved to Moscow and expressed concern about the future of the Soviet Union. Finally, he moved to Yerevan from where he presented the program segment that was the most important for us.

Birand opened this segment speaking from Republic Square, formerly Lenin Square, standing across from the Armenia Hotel and next to a fountain. He said that in Yerevan nobody speaks about the Soviet Union any more and that most people are concerned about how they will weather the winter and what the new political status of the country will be. He reported that electrical power is often disrupted, that the nights are cold, and that this small country of 3 million people, poor in natural resources, declared independence 3 months ago and faces serious problems looming before it. He noted that most of Armenia's supplies used to come from Azerbaijan and that, however, currently it has territorial disputes with that republic in connection with Karabakh. He added that Armenia also has problems with Georgia which has claims over some of Armenia's territory. On the West, Armenia has Turkey as its neighbor. Birand said that there are historical animosities and disputes between Armenians and Turkey. However, something has recently changed. Now, Armenia wants to establish trade ties with Turkey.

Birand showed scenes from Yerevan's streets and held interviews with passers-by who stared at the Turkish journalist with astonishment. Birand said: "When they heard that we are Turks, their eyes became wide open and they seemed surprised. None of them engaged in any impoliteness or unpleasantness, but their astonishment was evident."

Armenia has assigned the function of spokesperson on the issue of establishing economic ties with Turkey to a "super-minister," Mr Yesayi Stepanyan.

Birand had a very interesting interview with Stepanyan. During the interview, Birand asked questions in Turkish, and Stepanyan replied in a very sweet Eastern Armenian dialect. Stepanyan gave intelligent answers to Birand's equally intelligent questions.

[Birand] In the past you were not friendly toward Turkey. What has changed now? Is it the economic crisis that has prompted you to take such a step?

[Stepanyan] I can answer with a no. Today we simply wish to pursue a realistic policy. In the past there were no relations between the two countries. Now we want to establish relations. Our goal is not to find a solution to Armenia's economic problems. If that was the case we would turn to the West and the Armenian Diaspora.

[Birand] What do you want or expect from Turkey?

[Stepanyan] Economic cooperation is a serious affair. However, it must be cultivated. We can begin with railways and turn railways into a highway of life. We can open border crossing points, such as the one at Markara. We can encourage border trade.

[Birand] Your parliament refuses to recognize the borders set by the Treaty of Moscow. Meanwhile, you make allegations against Turkey. At the same time, you talk about cooperation. How will this happen?

[Stepanyan] It would not be realistic if I said that everything will change instantly. The two sides have their convictions and maintain those convictions. Here, I speak on behalf of the government. It is clear that we are prepared for cooperation and that we have no anti-Turkish activities under way.

[Birand] In other words, you will sit at the table and negotiate while kicking us under the table.

[Stepanyan] No. We will sit at the table. There may be some who may kick under the table from our side as well as yours. But we will not be the ones doing that.

[Birand] How will that be?

[Stepanyan] We have already undertaken diplomatic steps. It is hard, but first we must try to talk.

[Birand] No doubt, you must have people who oppose you on this issue at home and abroad.

[Stepanyan] Everytime there is a turning point in a policy, there will be opponents. There may be some on our side. The Armenian Diaspora may oppose it. However, the Armenian Diaspora is a stranger for us. That is why we invited representatives of the Diaspora to Yerevan next month for talks.

[Birand] But who will support whom? Will the Diaspora support you, or will you support the Diaspora?

[Stepanyan] We are prepared to cooperate with Turkey. The Diaspora provides economic aid to us. After the earthquake aid came from everywhere. However, it is we who will prevail over the Diaspora. The Diaspora cannot have any influence over us. We are prepared to establish trade, tourism and political ties with Turkey.

[Birand] All this is fine. However, 40 innocent people have been killed in the last 15 years by Armenian terrorists. Do you condemn those crimes, or are you pleased by them?

[Stepanyan] Personally, I condemn them. The terrorist acts are the result of the conflict between the two superpowers. We condemn these acts committed on behalf of Armenians.

[Birand] Because of your geographical location you have to live with Azerbaijan and Turkish communities in other countries. Will you be able to cope with that or is this just an illusion?

[Stepanyan] It is not an illusion. It is realism. Today the whole world is changing. Hostilities are being resolved at negotiating tables. We believe that friendly relations must be established among nations as in a family. [passage omitted]

Stance of Diaspora Viewed

91AS0426B Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian
6 Dec 90 pp 1, 4

[Text] "The Diaspora Is Opposed to Turkish-Armenian Relations." This is the title of the third article in Mehmet Ali Birand's recent series [in *MILLIYET*]. We present the article below:

"Diaspora" is a term that the Armenians use frequently. It is used to refer to the Armenians who were dispersed to the four corners of the world after the 1915 events and who live outside of Armenia today. The present population of Armenia is approximately 3 million. The Armenians of Diaspora number approximately 3.5 to 4 million. Wealthy Armenians live largely in the United States, France and Britain. There are also Armenian communities in 22 other countries.

The Diaspora differs from the Armenian Republic on two fundamental points:

1. Virtually all Diaspora Armenians are the children or grandchildren of the Armenians who emigrated from Turkey. They see their roots in Turkish soil. To this day, some Armenian-Americans say that they are "from Van."

2. The allegation of "genocide" is peculiar to the Diaspora. The Diaspora Armenians believe that they have claims against Turkey. The genocide campaign in the West is their creation.

Some of these Armenians are rich and are engaged in profitable businesses. Most of them, though, are middle class. The Armenians cannot be compared to the Jews in terms of either wealth or influence. However, they cannot be dismissed completely, particularly since they have been able to increase their awareness and to draw public attention on them in the last 15 years.

World public opinion first became aware of Armenian allegations of genocide and the existence of an Armenian diaspora as a result of terrorist acts in 1975.

Because we have always been indoctrinated to believe that all evil against us comes from the Soviet Union, we thought that the Soviet Union stood behind the terrorist acts committed on behalf of the Armenians. More correctly, they tried to convince us to that effect. The present reality shows, however, that the situation is not so and that the terrorist acts of that period were organized by various branches of the Armenian Diaspora.

Some Diaspora Armenians have tried to preserve the Armenian character of their children by indoctrinating them with hostility against Turks. In other words, they have chosen anti-Turkish propaganda as their means to stay Armenian. Concerned that Armenian young people can easily become assimilated into Frenchmen or Americans and lose their Armenian character, they have tried to incorporate anti-Turkish teachings in their educational system.

The Diaspora is not a monolithic entity. Among Diaspora Armenians there are extremely intelligent and rational people, but there are also extreme fanatics. Some of the latter have made a career out of hostility against Turks.

For some Armenians, waging battle against Turkey in some form or another has become a means of "proving their existence."

The Soviet Armenian Republic, that is the present Armenian Republic, took a neutral stance with regard to this battle in the last 15 years. Pressures by Moscow "not to spoil its relations with Turkey," and material and physical difficulties forced Yerevan to watch these developments passively.

When the incidents assumed major proportions, the emphasis of the statements issued by Yerevan changed. The Church began to play a steadily growing role but never to the point of joining hands with the Diaspora.

Conversely, the Diaspora did not take an interest in the Armenian Republic initially. Trying to avoid its "communist" label, it could not establish close ties with it.

Relations between the Diaspora and Yerevan began to grow stronger in the 1970's when Yerevan began to see the Diaspora as a "helping rich relative" and the Diaspora began to view Soviet Armenia (with some compassion) as a "relative who needs help."

In other words, neither in the past nor at present have the Diaspora and Yerevan collaborated closely or pursued a unified ideology as the Jews have done. These two segments are like two relatives who like each other but who have their separate interests and world views. Indeed, today Armenia's collaboration with Turkey is criticized by a certain segment of the Diaspora who see it as a betrayal. Some Diaspora Armenians are afraid that their *raison d'être* will vanish, while others think this

way because they are extreme nationalists. Others believe that his collaboration is important and endorse the idea.

In our opinion, the Diaspora Armenians constitute the biggest problem Armenia faces because the Diaspora is strong and can rebuild the 3-million-strong Armenian republic in 10 years.

At this point in time, it is not clear whether the Diaspora Armenians will want to make this plan [cooperation with Turkey] to become reality or whether they will choose to continue their anti-Turkish hostility, to pursue their allegations of genocide and to chase their impossible dream of bringing Turkey to its knees. The situation will become clearer when they get together in Yerevan in February. The Diaspora Armenians have enough strength to undermine the plan for cooperation between Turkey and Armenia.

In our opinion, the Armenian Diaspora and Yerevan are so different from each other that a real agreement between them is impossible. We must not be surprised if we observe different and conflicting policies among the Armenians. In particular, we must not think that this is a conspiracy.

'Capitulation' Seen

91AS0426C Paris GAMK in Armenian 14 Dec 90 p 2

[Article by M. Ishkhanian: "Listening to History's Voice"]

[Text] Mehmet Ali Birand, who has functioned more as Turkey's touring envoy or representative rather than a journalist, has been in places where the Armenian question had a chance of being raised. He has acted as the mouthpiece of the Turkish government and, with his "inventions," he has tried to refute the Armenian allegations, namely the Armenian genocide.

Recently he visited Armenia and had an interview with Minister of Foreign Trade Yesayi Stepanyan. He would rather have had an interview with Supreme Soviet President Levon Ter Petrosyan.

Whether disillusioned [over not meeting with Ter Petrosyan] or not, Birand has once again performed his "duty" and remained faithful to his "calling" to act as the mouthpiece of the Turkish government. He expressed the views we have heard frequently in the last 10 years on some occasion or another to the Russian weekly "Mirror."

But this time he expresses himself after visiting Armenia. He does not mince any words. He states clearly that Turkey will never recognize the Armenian genocide and that it supports the Azeri side on the Artsakh issue because of traditional ties and Armenia's hostility against Turkey and Azerbaijan.

The purpose of Birand's views are obvious: Armenians must forget the genocide and adopt a "flexible policy" if they want cooperation.

There is also a threat: Armenia is surrounded with Islamic countries and must therefore seek partners among them.

There is concern that the Diaspora may exert influence over Yerevan's policies although Minister Stepanyan has dissipated that worry.

Using agile diplomatic language, Birand wants to say that the Armenian nation has no choice but to capitulate.

Are we going to agree to capitulation and forget the first genocide of this century and our lands?

Are we going to agree that Turkey, Azerbaijan's friend, act as a mediator in the resolution of the Artsakh problem?

Finally, are we going to agree that the Diaspora assume the task of gaining recognition for the genocide and winning reparations for it on its own and that the Diaspora be accused of "pursuing a destructive policy"?

What patience does Birand speak about when 70 years later he still threatens, this time swinging the sword of economics?

All the questions enumerated above revolve around a basic issue: The fate of the principle of "a united Armenia and a united Armenian nation." Are we going to renounce this principle and turn into a divided nation?

This is the crisis that looms before the Yerevan regime. We say "the Yerevan regime" because in another article Birand himself confirms that the man in the streets of Yerevan has not forgotten the past and the genocide and keeps his eyes fixed on Mount Ararat.

Birand is not mistaken. It is Yesayi Stepanyan and his colleagues who are mistaken.

Birand's visit to Yerevan and the series he wrote on that visit are the best evidence that Turkey does not at all wish to cooperate with Armenia, that it is plotting an economic conspiracy against the entire Armenian nation and that it is waiting impatiently and vigilantly for us to fall into that trap, forgetting our existence, our victims and our lands.

At this stage the only course open to us is to resist this conspiracy and to continue listening to the voice coming from the depths of history. That voice does not call for or suggest capitulation or surrender.

That is the only way out, and it is diametrically opposed to the way which Birand suggests and to which our present officials have apparently fallen victim.

First Dashnak Regional Congress in ArSSR

91AS0460C Paris GAMK in Armenian 8-9 Dec 90 p 4

["Communique" by the Central Committee of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation in Armenia, dated December 1990]

[Text] The first regional congress of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] organization in Armenia was held recently.

By proclaiming the presence of its main organization in Armenia on 8 August 1990, the ARF officially began its second life on the soil of the Fatherland and turned its spiritual presence there into an organizational one.

At this critical moment for the Armenian people, when the Fatherland needs the unreserved devotion of all of its children, the ARF which has regerminated in Armenia and which has assumed the mission reserved to it with a full sense of responsibility, calls upon its main organization and all of its comrades in the Expatria to work for the strengthening of the republic which has embarked on the path of independence.

The first regional congress of the ARF organization in Armenia listened to brief presentations on the activities of its committees; examined political, economic, organizational, public, social, cultural and other issues; and adopted resolutions.

In view of the current political situation, the congress paid particular attention to the Artsakh demand movement.

Taking into account the provisions of the ARF program and resolutions of the 24th general congress of the ARF, the regional congress formulated the strategy and political course of the ARF organization in Armenia and recommended that the platform of the ARF for its activities in Armenia be released to the public very soon.

The regional congress reaffirmed that the ARF main organization, faithful to the 100-year heritage of the Dashnak Party, must pursue the full restoration of all the rights of the Armenian people within the framework of territorial and national coalescence [hoghahavak-azkahavak].

The regional congress elected a central committee for the ARF organization in Armenia. The political secretariat of the committee will be represented by Comrades Ruben Hovsepyan and Hrair Karapetyan.

Comrade Hrair Marukhian, the representative of the ARF Bureau, also attended the regional congress.

ArSSR Science, Technology Plans Detailed

91AS0460D Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 25 Dec 90 p 2

[Article by Asoghik M.: "Rafayel Khazaryan and Yuri Sargsyan Examine 'Science Education in Armenia'"]

[Excerpts] Rafayel Khazaryan, the chairman of the Education, Science, Culture and Language Committee of the Armenian Supreme Soviet [also minister of science and education], and Yuri Sargsyan, a member of the same committee [also the director of the Polytechnic University of Yerevan], attended a meeting sponsored by the Armenian Engineers and Scientists of America during their recent tour of the United States. The meeting was held on 17 November 1990 in Hollywood. The two visitors expressed their views on "science education in Armenia," which was the topic of discussion at the meeting. [passage omitted]

The first speaker was Rupen Terzian (from Chicago), the founder of the Armentoy factory which is already operating in Armenia. Terzian said that financial aid could not solve fundamental problems in Armenia and that he thought it was more important to create a new industry in Armenia. That is how the idea of Armentoy was born. The factory now employs 200 workers. Terzian noted that although difficulties persist there are also opportunities in Armenia. He said that there is little time and that it is necessary to act without delay. Pointing out the vast market opportunities Armenia offers, Terzian said that unlike the jobless in the [presumably Soviet] Far East, the "unemployed in Armenia are educated." Then Terzian demonstrated a toy car manufactured by Armentoy in Armenia saying that he expects to produce more than 1 million such toys by the end of 1991. Each of the toys sells for R 65.

The next speaker was Professor R. Tahmazyan, the head of the chemical engineering department [at the Polytechnic University] of Yerevan. He said that he has been touring the United States for 2 weeks to study work on environmental protection. Noting the grave ecological conditions in Armenia as a result of industrial pollution, Tahmazyan said that last year his department decided to offer a degree in environmental engineering. For that purpose, two specialists are being trained at USC and the University of California at Berkeley. A curriculum based on curricula taught at UCLA, USC, Stanford, Berkeley and New Jersey has also been prepared. [passage omitted]

Another speaker was Garegin Chukasizyan, the head of the computer center at the Armenian Academy of Sciences. Chukasizyan said that he has violated the rule of working through Armenians only and has begun to collaborate with Americans. He said that he had talks with representatives of Microsoft, Hewlett Packard, Apple, National Semiconductor as well as MIT and Harvard with the purpose of creating an Armenian computer network. He said that talks are under way with Northern Telecom to modernize Armenia's domestic communications network and that AT&T will open its first switching stations for Armenia in the spring thus making teleconferencing possible. Nodes for the Armenian computer network are planned in the Silicon Valley, Massachusetts, Germany, Paris, Moscow and Los Angeles so that the dispersed state of the Armenians can be turned into an advantage and that information

can be combined and propagated. Chukasizyan also said that a shareholding company is being planned to encourage small high technology ventures in Armenia. [passage omitted]

Dashnak Leader Meets Catholicos, ArSSR Officials

91AS0460B Paris GAMK in Armenian

8-9 Dec 90 pp 1, 3

[Text] Comrade Hrair Marukhian, the representative of the Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF], accompanied by Comrade Dikran Jinbashian, met with Vazgen I, Catholicos of All Armenians, on 5 December. The representative comrade had an intimate conversation with the Holy Pontiff on national and political issues. He explained to the Catholicos the structure of the ARF organization in Armenia and told him about the party's regional congress in Armenia and the election of a regional central committee. The Pontiff said that the ARF can use its experience to contribute to the political stabilization of Armenia, to help the reconstruction of the country and to continue its historic mission.

Comrades Marukhian and Jinbashian stayed as the Pontiff's dinner guests.

Comrade Marukhian had a meeting with Levon Ter Petrosyan, the president of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, on 5 December in the president's office.

During the meeting, President Ter Petrosyan spoke about the developments and the outstanding difficulties regarding the consolidation of the sovereignty and independent statehood of the Armenian Republic.

Comrade Marukhian told the president that the ARF supports the work to consolidate the Armenian state with its organization in Armenia and the Expatria, naturally reserving for itself the right of healthy dissent based on democratic principles. The comrade also outlined the framework and direction of the work of ARF organization in Armenia and explained its structure.

During the meeting, which was marked by a warm atmosphere and a spirit of cooperation, various national issues were raised, including the Artsakh problem, challenges to the consolidation of democracy in the republic, the role of the Expatria in the expansion of Armenia's external relations and the prospects for practical steps with regard to the economic strengthening of Armenia.

The meeting which lasted for approximately 2 hours was also attended by Comrade Apo Boghikian, the head of ARF Press and Information Center offices in Armenia.

Comrade Marukhian also had a meeting with Prime Minister Vazgen Manukyan on 5 December. This was his fourth meeting with Mr Manukyan since 21 November 1990. The principal topic of discussion at this meeting was the implementation of the plan for the economic development of Armenia. Agreement was

reached to form, after completing preliminary work, an economic commission in the Diaspora which will present to the Armenian council of ministers a plan of work with regard to the implementation of the basic program that has already been drafted and obtain the council's approval to start work.

Mr Yesayi Stepanyan, Armenia's minister of foreign trade, attended all the meetings [with Prime Minister Manukyan]. The first two meetings were also attended by Comrade Garo Armenian and Mr Vahan Zanoian, representatives of the ARF Commission for the Economic Development of Armenia.

On 4 December, Comrade Marukhian visited the offices of the Main Administration for State Archives, which is located next to the offices of the Council of Ministers.

Comrade Marukhian was received by Mr Bagrat Safyan, the head of the administration, as well as other officials of the agency. Comrade Marukhian was briefed about the work of the Main Administration for State Archives. The comrade expressed particular interest about the preservation of documents related to the ARF.

The meeting which lasted for approximately 2 hours ended with mutual pledges of cooperation.

New ArSSR Paper Polls Views on Communist Party

91AS0460A Paris GAMK in Armenian 14 Nov 90 p 1

[Text] The first issue of MITK [Thought], the newly created weekly publication of the Armenian Academy of Sciences, carries a sociological study entitled "Unity or Division?" The article states that the sociological service of MITK sponsored a public opinion survey in the Spantaryan region. According to the article, nearly a third (32.2 percent) of the survey respondents expect the Armenian Communist Party to declare its complete independence from the CPSU; 26.8 percent expect the Armenian Communist Party to change its name. Approximately 26 percent of the respondents want the entire leadership of the central committee of the party to be replaced. The paper notes that there are even communists who expect the Armenian Communist Party "to dissolve itself." This group constitutes nearly 15 percent of the respondents.

Meanwhile, 20 percent of Armenian communists believe that remaining within the CPSU "may serve as a foundation for the solution of our pannational problems."

The survey shows that approximately 43 percent of Armenian Communist Party members no longer pay their dues. The paper points out that this 43 percent translates into 86,000 persons in the republic and that this points to an imperceptible atrophy in the party ranks.

Approximately 2.5 percent of the people who resigned from the Armenian Communist Party said that they left

to join another party. Conversely, 5 percent of former communists are not members of any party.

The paper states that the Armenian Communist Party was defeated [in recent elections] not because of the strength of the Armenian Pannational Movement but because of disarray within its own ranks. Approximately 10 percent of the respondents in the survey expressed their dissatisfaction with the passive stance communists have adopted in the Soviet Union.

The paper says that only 2 to 3 percent of the respondents would prefer "Socialist Party" [as the new name of their party]. According to the survey, 12 percent of the respondents would prefer their party to be called "social democratic," 31 percent proposed the label "national democratic," and 25 percent would like to name the party the "Independent Communist Party of Armenia."

New Dashnak Press Office in Sisian

91AS0422A Paris GAMK in Armenian 13 Dec 90 p 1

[Excerpt] Sisian—The Press Center of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [ARF] in Armenia has been endowed with a second office that has been opened in Sisian.

The local office of the ARF Press and Information Center in Sisian began operating on 10 December under the leadership of Tatul Sunetsi, a young intellectual and historian.

Initially the Sisian office will be responsible for transmitting to the Yerevan office news from the Zangezur region.

Press and information offices are also planned in other regions of Armenia in the near future with the purpose of acquainting the Fatherland, the expatria, and the foreign world about developments across the Armenian Republic. [passage omitted]

Status of Private ArSSR Colleges Outlined

91AS0422B Paris GAMK in Armenian 13 Dec 90 p 2

[Excerpt] Four new-style higher educational institutions, organized as cooperatives, are now in operation in Yerevan: Mut, Galik, Gladzor, and Inzhener Prokres. The latter has branches in Charentsavan, Kumayri, Kirovakan, and Stepanakert. This report is the product of interviews with the directors of the said institutions—except Mut—the Republic's deputy minister of public education, and the deputy chairman of the Education, Science, Language and Culture Committee of the Armenian Supreme Soviet.

Preparation of Cadres

[Passage omitted] The Armenian Republic has embarked on the path of independence and restoration of statehood. This obviously presumes the formulation of new political relations with both the outside world and

the other union republics. An autonomous internal and external policy presents new problems to the people's economy, and the impact of market relations has already begun to be felt. Are we ready to manage this situation and to generate appropriate policies? Can we adapt ourselves to the modalities of market economics? Do we have appropriate cadres who can defend the interests of our republic and people and who can conclude mutually profitable contracts? These are the problems which Gladzor, Galik, and Inzhener-Progress plan to tackle. These schools train marketing directors, finance experts, and businessmen. Gladzor teaches international law, international relations, and law. Galik offers courses in general law, foreign economic relations, the legal organization of business, cooperative management, management of agricultural production, the scientific organization of labor, and so forth. Inzhener-Progress specializes in international economics and government, organization of international trade, economics of international construction, agricultural economics, the legal basis of international economic relations.

Is the novelty of this new-style higher educational institution simply the fact that they charge tuition? Obviously not. They have adopted new approaches with regard to admissions—Inzhener-Progress admits students without any examinations—academic curricula, and instructional methods. It must be noted that the principal reason for the creation of this new type of higher educational institution is probably the ineffectiveness and unproductivity of the existing educational system—a fact that is acknowledged even by the Ministry of Public Education. On the other hand, although the ministry has acknowledged the advantages of the new-style educational institutions, it has not offered them any practical assistance so far. The ministry claims that its meager attempt to intervene has been met with resistance. Apparently they forget at the ministry that any new phenomenon requires new approaches and that old methods are often rejected. The principal reason the cooperative higher educational institutions feel the need for assistance from the ministry is the high cost of the buildings housing the institutions. The cooperative institutions also need help in instructional methods and textbooks for new courses, not to mention in drafting academic curricula. They are prepared to pay for all these services because they are self-financing organizations.

Financial Problems

It has already been mentioned that the cooperative higher educational institutions charge tuition for the education they offer. A student pays R [rubles] 5,000 per year for enrollment in regular programs and R 3,000 per year for enrollment in preparatory courses. Applicants must pay R 100 to take part in admission interviews and examinations. These are the revenue sources for the budgets of cooperative educational institutions. These revenues are spent to pay for lecturers whose salaries are twice those of their counterparts in state institutions. Large sums are spent on the reproduction of essential

textbooks which are difficult to procure. The intensive teaching of foreign languages requires the construction and outfitting of state-of-the-art instructional booths. Rent for buildings is another expense. Even under these conditions, Gladzor can offer [free] education to three students from the disaster zone and two from the Diaspora, paying them a stipend equal to the average wage in the Republic—R 150 a month—and providing them with free room and board.

Overseas Ties

The directors of the cooperative higher educational institutions have carried out extensive work to modify academic curricula. The director of Galik, Frunzik Kharatyan, a doctor of jurisprudence, has established contact with international centers and makes use of their curricula. The director of Gladzor, Zhora Jihangiryan, a doctoral candidate of jurisprudence, utilizes the curricula of the Institute of International Relations in Moscow.

A major portion of the specialized topics taught is unknown to perhaps our best lecturers. This, together with the absence of curricula with clear objectives, may jeopardize the success of the good work that has been started. Here state assistance, and quick and practical intervention are imperative. In order to prepare lawyers and economists for international business, foreign specialists knowledgeable in these subjects and perfected curricula are needed. Otherwise, there will be little difference between the graduates of the cooperative institutions and those of the state institutions. That undertaking requires foreign currency which the cooperative institutions do not have. The director of Galik is preparing to organize a joint agricultural venture with overseas investors in order to procure foreign currency, but that is for the future.

Degree Equivalency Problem

Will the degrees conferred by the cooperative higher educational institutions be equivalent to those granted by their state counterparts? This issue, which is of concern to many people, is beset by controversy. The Republic's Ministry of Public Education has received a document signed by the Deputy Minister of Public Education which states that the degrees conferred by a cooperative institution are not equivalent to the degrees conferred by state institutions because the cooperative institutions have not yet been accredited by the appropriate all-Union directorates. The directors of the cooperative institutions and Grachya Grigoryan, the chairman of the relevant committee in the parliament, have strongly protested this decision, pointing out the Declaration on Independence and the law on "the formation of cooperatives" [kooperatsya]. These protests notwithstanding, we must acknowledge that the Armenian Republic is for the moment part of the Soviet Union which has all-Union regulations regarding graduation documents. Paragraph 5 of article 31 of the law on "the formation of cooperatives" states that the state must assist the cooperatives and their associations to develop their network of institutions. In other words, it must assist those higher educational institutions which operate under the aegis of the said organizations.

In order to end the present confusion, the cooperative higher educational institutions, which currently have more than 1,000 students and a staff of highly qualified faculty, must eventually receive state assistance. In addition, the status of these institutions must be explicitly outlined in the proposed reorganization of the educational system which is being drafted by the relevant committee of the parliament. Only then would the graduates of cooperative higher educational institutions be able to realize the political and economic objectives of our new state.

ALGERIA

Economic Reform Program Stresses Investments

91AA0205A Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*
in French 10 Jan 91 p 29

[Article by M.E.G.: "Resumption of Big Investment Projects"]

[Text] The reform of the public enterprises, which has been linked with a thorough reorganization of the way the national economy operates, has been unable to "challenge" a characteristic basic principle of our type of development, namely, that the state continues to be—starting with all forms of accumulative capital contributions—the chief participant in the restoration of the economy.

This fact persists despite the opening of the investment field register that has been effected to the advantage of both the national private sector and foreign capital by the latest laws governing the economy. To this effect, the Algerian economy's fundamental structures remain subordinated to the power of the public sector and the private sector's role continues to be a residual one, particularly because of its capitalistic capabilities and potential. The national development plan for 1991 bears the mark of this reality and, while it opens wide the doors to "activities declared to have priority status" to the advantage of private capital, it nevertheless reserves the "lion's share of the pie" for public sector investments.

What is most striking about this plan is certainly the part linked with the national investment program and the forecasts made with respect to it for the current year. The volume of investments earmarked for these activities represents the concern for a serious resumption of production investments, that is, investments that will create jobs that generate wealth. The expenditures projected for this purpose are, in fact and "consistent with the priorities among medium-term prospects," estimated at 136 billion dinars, "or 21.9 percent of the GDP." The whole program represents an average of 52 percent of our total expenditures, within which production sector investments alone are being increased by 5 points in comparison with last year with an objective of from 57 to 58 percent to be achieved by about 1994. Thus, this sector's investment budget for this year is being increased by 41 percent as against 15.3 percent for the production sector budget.

This approach is aimed at assuring the continuity of the economic recovery process thanks to an effective accumulation of capital. It is structured about three focal points that constitute the chief objectives and general orientations of the national plan for 1991. The first series of objectives tends to accelerate the implementation of reforms for the specific purpose of permitting "the effective release of initiatives and energies and the exercise of independent, responsible management by the different economic operators." In this case, emphasis

will have to be laid on "the operationality of the new forms of access to foreign trade and how they are to be financed," on the one hand, and on "effectively making the [state] enterprises and the organization of their financial reorganization and restructuring independent in order to ensure their viability," on the other.

The second series of objectives is aimed at ensuring "the economy volumes of supplies of raw materials and semifinished products that will enable it to make effective use of the means of production."

And finally, the last series of objectives tends to "consolidate production potential for the launching of major investment projects that have been postponed for too long and that are indispensable to the development of strategic business sectors."

The actions to be taken in connection with this involve: the development of new capabilities in steel products (long product lines), plasticizer and synthetic fiber lines, new capabilities in phosphate fertilizers, expansion of the industrial glass industry, the development of gold-bearing potential in the south, expansion of electricity production capacities, the development of the passenger vehicle industry, the electrical energy transmission and linkage program, expansion of the farm equipment industry (minitractors, power-driven cultivators...).

These actions come under the heading of the medium-term prospects, which are aimed at achieving three objectives:

- To foster activities that remove industrial barriers and those aimed at geographic areas to be promoted.
- To extend preference to operations designed to stimulate the creation of jobs.

Private sector participation is oriented in the same direction because the plan tends to chiefly encourage the private production sector within the framework of "the development effort, particularly in terms of its integration components." The determination and establishment of priority activities in which private capital may participate and for which it may benefit from financial and tax advantages attest to this tendency and represent the government's desire to make this sector a full-fledged partner, which must no longer be confined to peripheral fields of economic activity. Apart from agriculture, it was decided that the plan would include priority activities in the following sectors: the public production and distribution of electricity; the public distribution of natural gas; research and exploration in connection with the mining and energy (including hydrocarbons) industries, and the steel and base metal industries; the manufacture of fertilizers, tires, and basic petrochemicals; the mining of ores (except aggregates); the glass industry; the pharmaceuticals industry; the manufacture of capital goods; rail transport; strategic grain storage infrastructure; industrial equipment maintenance and replacement; ship repair; the cottage industries; the manufacture of school and educational equipment and materials;

the production of musical instruments; and the small- and medium-sized industries of the sectors to be promoted.

As concerns BTP [building and public works], the plan orients investments around two focal points to be accorded preference: on the one hand, "the development of and support for job skills: studies and engineering" with "emphasis on maintenance" and "a revitalization of training" and, on the other, "support and aid for the BTP export sector, particularly for those enterprises that have attained a considerable level of efficacy and technical know-how and can keep up with the international competition in this field."

The emphasis laid in the plan on the investment aspect of the industrial production sector must not be allowed to let us forget the actions planned within the framework of development of other activities. Alongside the resumption of investments for research and development of hydrocarbons, whose share of the total goes from 6 percent in 1989 to 12.5 percent in 1991, it should be pointed out that irrigation monopolizes 9.2 percent of the investments, or 12.6 billion dinars. On the other hand, the amount allocated for the environment comes to 26 billion dinars, or an increase of 12 percent over the figure for 1990. This "amount could be exceeded by means of special measures for the mobilization of household savings, particularly by the CNEP [Algerian National Savings and Insurance Bank]."

These initial aspects of the 1991 national development plan shed light on the government's economic policy, which is aimed at ensuring overall economic balances based—as far as the actions examined here are concerned—on selective investments restructured about their production components. Their choice represents a "rediscovered" determination to renew the indispensable need to build a self-centered production system. The actions adopted in this program are aimed at "increasing export potential, improving integration of the economy, and meeting the primary needs of the national economy."

Commentary Foresees FIS, HAMAS Alliance

91AA0205C *Algiers REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*
in French 10 Jan 91 p 20

[Commentary by Bouziane Ahmed Khodja: "FIS-HAMAS: A Semblance of Divorce"]

[Text] The pseudo dispute between the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] and HAMAS [zeal] may throw out all the calculations, thwart all the plans, and upset all the strategies for the parliamentary elections.

The magnitude of his victory on 12 June gives Abassi Madani good reason to hope for a big victory in the parliamentary elections. At that time, if that is the case, we must say that it will be the beginning of real dictatorship and political totalitarianism. What will the chances for democracy be in a landscape again subjected

to upheaval? The plate of multiplicity might well be passed again. It remains to be seen whether the FIS will accept the presence of a potential competitor, namely HAMAS.

Mr. Abassi Madani is not likely to withdraw from his concrete commitments. Mr. Nahnah has known this since their political ambitions have become entangled and disentangled with one another. Since HAMAS was created, however, Nahnah has hoped to unseat the APN [People's National Assembly]. He also knows that the FIS, which is in the race, will not be giving anything away. Mistrustful, he is discreetly withdrawing from his commitment without making the slightest mistake in terms of the goal that drives his party and has programmed himself on the political plateau under the FIS banner.

"No means no. For us, the FIS continues to be the only representative religious party in this country." The "pure, hard-line" FIS members refuse to forgive the spokesman for HAMAS, Madani's challenger, for having "swiped" a seat that they feel belongs to them by right. Nahnah will therefore be their hostage.

Does Madani share this animosity? Nahnah knows that, to win in the parliamentary elections, paradoxically, from now on he can only count on the FIS and Madani. The pragmatic FIS leader needs him as an ideologist and he will exploit him to the hilt. Therefore, the FIS leader has run the risk of disappointing him by turning down "the alliance," but now he knows that the coalition is incontrovertible. Is not this typical of these contacts made on the sly? El Irshad Oua El Islah was not a candidate in the municipal elections. He feigned shilly-shallying for a long time. He somewhat regretted it. And then he supported the idea of Islamic union. Very softly. And we think that he will probably ally himself with the FIS before the parliamentary elections. We can see that he is biding his time; he keeps a record of the mistakes of the other parties and learns from them. In short, he is getting an education in parliamentary tactics.

Judging from its leaders' speeches, HAMAS is a modern religious party that focuses its policy on education and tolerance of and respect for others—at least this is what we gather from the media. But, when we see Mr. Nahnah speak disparagingly of democracy and culture here, curse the democrats there, and deliver a speech on television and in the newspapers that is just as contradictory as that, this immediately implies the institutionalization of a political lie. The leader of HAMAS, who was courteous and tolerant, especially in Oran, was violent, intolerant, and obscurantist in Saida. His obsequiousness with the wide-circulation media, like television is nothing but a fraud.

Furthermore, there are not only moderates in the ranks of El Irshad Oua El Islah. Meeting in Tlemcen, this party's militants in every respect resembled what is commonly referred to as "extremists," dressed like Afghans, those moudjahidin who came back from

Afghanistan a few weeks ago and who swear to put Algeria to fire and the sword if "a single secular representative gets into the APN in the next parliamentary elections." The message could not be any clearer. It is now obvious that the interests of the FIS and HAMAS nurture the same ambitions. The fact is that the ways and means for succeeding in establishing a well-defined social plan matter little. Therefore, if their goals are the same, there are no apparent reasons why the FIS and HAMAS should kill one another. We probably see in this only a semblance of divorce, a pseudo dispute designed to throw the other parties off the track and fool them. Beyond any subjective appraisal, the actual facts argue in favor of this interpretation. And all it would take is a bit more vigilance for the democratic parties to avoid being duped.

Moreover, Algerians measure the opposition to HAMAS, but are they really aware of its ambitions?

Fascinated by the misunderstanding created between a sovereign HAMAS and a humiliated (in people's eyes) FIS, the democrats think that they are the preferred opponents of the FIS, possessing the same complex, esthetic bond of repressed admiration. Because people's frustration with this party is great, this party that mobilizes an indefectible, disciplined, and extremely dedicated mass of followers.

As for their imported ideas, a sort of ready-to-wear that they would like to impose [on Algeria] as a social plan that is totally foreign to Algerian reality, they could under no circumstances replace our deeply anchored, both revolutionary and cultural, etc. traditions.

A sensible political approach would permit everyone to easily get an idea of what is on the backs of millions of Algerians more concerned with providing for their basic needs than with indulging in political analysis.

The FIS-HAMAS union is knocking on the doors of the parliamentary elections and the illusion of division between them is probably only an election strategy. Is this fair play?

Arabic Language Law Provokes Reactions

Politicians' Responses

91AA0204A Algiers ALGERIE-ACTUALITE in French
3 Jan 91 p 5

[Article by Dalila Lakiidar and Fadela Chaib: "Drill Field"]

[Text] A tumultuous year's end, filled with emotions and forebodings of storms. The FFS [Socialist Forces Front] is on the march and is rallying its mobs. Slogans, different but equally important, through the intermediary of satellites, but the public will only retain what relates to the language problem. The APN [People's National Assembly] has succeeded in launching a debate on a problem that we thought had been resolved under

conditions such that it has provoked the reactions we are aware of. Without prejudice to those that are yet to come and despite the complete about-face effected by an Assembly that has succeeded in establishing the unique precedent of redebating a bill already voted on and without going through the formalities of the rules regarding registration and prior discussion in committee. An immeasurable debate, tremendous stakes. In the end, social peace will depend on the way the language problem is dealt with. The instances of backsliding implicitly embodied in the context are only a warning, not to be taken lightly in a country where freedom of speech now makes it possible for debate to descend into the streets. In this report offered our readers, our colleagues attempt to outline the contours of this burning issues. From the sacred to the profane, from the general to the specific, from the APN to the Place du Premier Mai, from Ait Ahmed to Boukrouh: Opinions are expressed. While awaiting new developments.

The APN's passage of the bill to make the use of Arabic universal has not ceased to create unrest. Having boycotted the APN vote, some 50 deputies agree in their motivation with the position of rejection of the bill adopted by most of the opposition parties. A rejection, let us make it clear, that does not in any way involve the principle of utilization of the Arabic language, but which is justified due to a suspicious haste to confront the civil society with a *fait accompli*.

The first thing to be almost universally questioned is the legitimacy of this APN. While Nouredine Boukrouh (PRA [Algerian Renewal Party]) talks of "the questionable legitimacy of the APN now in office itself, as the wheels of government, responsible for the failure for the past 13 years of the Arabization policy," Slimane Amirat (MDRA [Democratic Movement for Algerian Renewal]) decrees that, "having voted for this law, the 173 deputies do not represent the people of Algeria. And today, here is the FLN [National Liberation Front] party, with its deputies, waging its honorable battle by murdering this democracy because it is afraid of it." Kasdi Merbah (MAJD [Algerian Movement for Justice and Democracy]) reminds us that, if his party "is demanding the establishment of a transition government, it is to see to it that issues as fundamental as the universal use of Arabic are not settled by an APN whose days are theoretically numbered." Messrs. Khellil and Meghreas (MDA [Movement for Democracy in Algeria]) denounce "the machinations and manipulations of this APN that represents only the FLN, even if some deputies are talking of opposition in the Assembly. This way of behaving bodes ill for the debates to come, for example, the one concerning the electoral law." For Said Sadi (RCD [Rally for Culture and Democracy]), this law "attests to the lamentable cultural and political level of our deputies. It is the act of a class of frustrated individuals. These are the spasms of desperate individuals who are in the rear guard of history, but who are threatening the future of Algerian democracy."

Abdelmadjid Harbi (PAGS [Socialist Vanguard Party]) "is disturbed at the absence of some 100 deputies from this vote, which does not serve the Arabic language, which has no need of a guardian." In a quite different line of thought, Abassi Madani (FIS [Islamic Salvation Front]) thinks that "the APN represents only itself, that it has no legitimacy, and that it is disgraceful that it took so long to pass this law."

Excluded from the debate, the above-mentioned parties deplore the fact that they were not associated with this bill, some provisions of which reached them through the press. Ahmed Mahsas (UFD [Union of Democratic Forces]) bitterly sums up this practice: "The circumstances under which the law was voted on prove that antidemocratic practices continue to exist." "The stale odors of a single party" for the MDA, "an outrage inflicted on us by a handful of deputies" for the MDRA, and "a veritable trap set for this country's democratic and patriotic forces" for the PAGS.

How shall we interpret the expeditious resolution of this issue? The democratic opposition sees in it a political, an election maneuver aimed at dividing the ranks of the democrats in order to set political groups against one another and cultural groups against one another. They denounce this law, "a veritable conspiracy aimed at sowing the seeds of division, revolt, and disorder in the country." They think that "this law can increase the differences between the parties, give rise to antagonisms, and stir them up, whereas all the parties are in favor of using the national language...."

What was obvious to the opposition parties does not seem to be so to the deputies, who felt it necessary to enact a law governing a reality that we thought we had achieved. Mahfoud Nahnah (Hames) feels "that it is disgraceful for the APN to have passed a law that confers legal status on a language accepted by everyone." Ahmed Mahsas wonders "how, on the eve of 1991, they could still turn out laws for the application of the Arabic language. The matter was resolved a long, long time ago. It is the language that has always been spoken nationwide in Algeria." For the PAGS, "the debate for or against Arabization is over." A kind of Arabization that flows from the source, in no way contested by the opposition parties without, however, relegating the languages and dialects existing in Algeria to marginal status. "There was no reason for pointing the finger of guilt at Algerians with regard to their national language," N. Boukrouh thinks. "There was and still is a way of enabling these three families of languages (national, ethnic, and foreign) to coexist peacefully."

The MAJD declares itself "in favor of universal application of the national language. There is absolutely no doubt about this, but [it must be achieved] through a system of incentives, not by penalizing people," joined in this view by the PAGS, which feels "that the Arabic language did not need a law that beats people into submission and penalizes them, but instead it has need

of sustained efforts to raise the level [of its use] and of opening itself to the world, the sciences and technologies."

Is it an accident that this law was passed on the eve of the march organized by the FFS? The democratic opposition does not particularly think so. At a time when Algeria is going through a crisis that assumes many forms, debate is centered on other issues and priority is not extended to the language issue. For the MDRA, for example, "this law is aimed at diverting public opinion away from the real problems our people are experiencing." The MDA reminds us that "this law comes at a time when the APN has been dealing with issues as burning as the one involving the 26 billion and the National Chamber of Commerce in an offhanded way."

As far as its immediate application is concerned, the opposition parties raise the point that it is impossible to implement it within the stipulated deadline. Only the FIS narrows the issue down to one of individual determination. Experienced in affairs of state, Kasdi Merbah develops another analysis: "This law is going to pose major problems in its application because the deadline of a year and a half is too short. We have not begun to solve the problems of the practical study of programs sector by sector, delineation of the means [for applying the law], and the eventual retraining of the personnel concerned."

Is the Arabization issue settled? Not quite. "The Arabic language remains the last taboo to be broken after those of religion, the single party, and human rights," in the words of the RCD. The topic of Arabization is yet to be rendered a dispassionate one and the democratic opposition is counting on and working toward a rational dialogue conducted peacefully and responsibly. The democrats are waiting for the president of the republic to declare himself on the issue before committing themselves to concrete actions. "Those who know how to think must not be replaced by those who know how to talk." This reflection by the MDRA alone illustrates the apprehensions entertained by every democrat.

Economic Repercussions

91AA0204B Algiers ALGERIE-ACTUALITE in French
3 Jan 91 p 8

[Article by Hamidi K.: "Arabic, OK, but How Much Will It Cost?"]

ng is obviously going to slow down our economic growth rate. Can we at this time bear the cost of this operation?

Is this really a catastrophe? There is, of course, the currency and credit law, which is propelling the country into a market economy, and then, to better lubricate this propulsion, tax reform comes in the nick of time. Viewed simply as a technical mechanism, does the bill to make the use of Arabic universal come under the heading of the same kind of logic? Is it an instrument, a catalyst of economic recovery introduced today for the same reason that other incentives are? What direct impact may it

actually have on the overall balances of the Algerian economy? The question appears to be an insolent one for some, a naive one for others, since for everyone there is nothing technical in this fundamentally political law. Applied as is, suddenly and absolutely, it would be a veritable catastrophe. This, at least, is the conclusion reached in a micro-opinion poll of some 50 businessmen and economic operators who, from the local merchant to the Ministry of Economy via the stock funds, display a skepticism that is more ironic than anxious with respect to the feasibility of this suddenly parachuted law.

They feel that it is practically impossible to radically retrain businesses, banks, and administrative agencies that all operate in French within a few years time in this way. For a simple book entry or any other operation, as inoffensive as it may be, human competence and the equipment used by the individual would have to be assured. If we multiply this by the number of services that exist in a single enterprise, then by the number of enterprises nationwide, we will have an idea of the prodigious cost engendered by such a retraining operation. This means, a financier stated, that every enterprise is going to double its operating budget. This is not the moment, especially not now when every enterprise has to resort to economic reckoning and profitability rules. This attempt at retraining is going to result in all the more enormous delays in the transmission of economic information to the internal departments of a given enterprise as well as in its external relations. Working with French alone, economic communication is already lamentably impeded because of an overly burdensome bureaucratization. All the people we interviewed—who, no doubt being honest about it, are betting on realism rather than a narrow kind of nationalism—assert that it is not really our language that is going to make things run more smoothly. And by the way, did they gauge the efficacy of the operation beforehand through the expedient of a pilot enterprise? Did they design a financing plan, a feasibility study, or at the least even a simulation exercise to see what it might lead to? Nothing of the sort! Which reveals the degree of maturity involved in this bill. The people we interviewed unanimously indicated that this loss of time and this immaturity of conception are going to have a direct impact on the volume of goods production, of capital, and of services. At this time of major financial reorganizations, recasting of management methods, the establishment of a competitive market in which "speed and efficiency" are the dynamic standards, we must after all ask ourselves whether our enterprises can permit themselves the luxury of such a retraining program for which we have to pay the price. For us to achieve it before 1992, the deadline set by the bill to make the use of Arabic universal, we would have to have an nth-generation "supermacrocomputer" to instantaneously retrain Algeria in a way that would enable it to normally follow the course of its reforms at the same pace. And this magical operation would only enable it to attain the already low level of management it operates and reoperates with in French.

Actually, we get the impression from this micropoll that the problem is not posed in terms of French-speaking versus Arabic-speaking personnel. If that were all there was to it, the choice would not even have to be made. Everything is only a matter of time and therefore of the adaptation of this or that technical or linguistic tool to the real economic world in which we live. Now, all the opinions agree in saying that the moment has been poorly chosen for compromising our economic growth with attitudes stemming from political extremism rather than from a "civilized," and therefore logical kind of nationalism. According to a number of Algerian operators, in the full sense of the word, the tool of French is still, unfortunately, necessary to guarantee a certain fluidity of current business management. Necessary, not because it is the heritage of over a century of colonization, but quite simply because French is an at present internationally dominant language, in any case more operational than Russian or Japanese. Moreover, Sony, Yamaha, Mitsubishi, and other bright stars of the Japanese economy have conquered the world precisely by very deliberately using the languages and cultures of other competing countries.

In short, in terms of economic management and information, it is the "time" factor and the criterion of "operationality" that ultimately lead businessmen to say that the plan for making the use of Arabic universal that is propounded today, at the end of 1990, is an anachronism. Some even go so far as to describe it as a political manifesto deliberately developed to counter the reforms. Others think that it is only a missile fired off almost stupidly, without any specific objective and without any dangerous consequences. All things considered, it would be preferable to wait for the reaction of the government, extraneous to this law, to be able to gauge what is at stake.

Commentary Examines Social Costs of FIS Policies

91AA0205B Algiers *REVOLUTION AFRICAINE*
in French 10 Jan 91 p 22

[Article by R.N.: "Liquor Stores and Brothels: What Is Futile Can Be Fatal"]

[Text] For several months now, "pure, hard-line" Islamic fundamentalists of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) have been waging an all-out campaign against the liquor stores and licensed brothels. They make threats, exert pressure, and offer "compensatory wages" to "women with loose morals," as the police refer to them. Have our gentle redeemers thought for a single moment of the economic and, above all, social consequences of this? Have they given thought to the serious sexual deviations, illnesses, mental problems, and behavior in a society in which the average marriage age is in the neighborhood of 40 because of the acute housing crisis?

When one sets oneself up as a political party that aspires to the throne of the "commanders," one is expected to

propose a way of running the country the goal of which is to lead us out of the dark tunnel of underdevelopment. But, when the platform of the aforementioned political organization that wants to take over the reins of government is nothing more than a string of ideas dating back to the Middle Ages and the legislative branch—which has not yet fallen into its hands—knowingly (?) begins to pave the way for it, we may wonder whether a plot has not been hatched to alienate the country and turn it into a museum that other nations will point out to their new generations as an example for them not to follow.

What can we expect of the closing down of liquor stores but that people will resort to a cottage industry for the production of "beverages that make one lose one's mind," which has been and will continue to be the cause of alcohol poisonings, deaths, and illegal marketing, which erodes the health of some people to fill the pockets of others. Have they also calculated the cost of closing down the wine cellars and breweries and the loss of foreign currency profits, which the fate of Algeria depends on just as much as Algerians' survival may depend on semolina? Have they thought that people are switching to hashish, kif mixed with tobacco and other "6/15s," and "artane," which are already legion and that the FIS has never dealt with during its weekly masses—which is odd—and the list is just too long. Do they at least realize, these gloomy individuals who harbor such lugubrious ideas, that a measure like this can only lead to the situation the United States was in during prohibition with everything that involved in the way of violence, rackets, and division of public opinion? Do they at least realize that the only bond that unites Algerians is their Algerianness, which is a mosaic of convictions and cultures. Unity is not necessarily synonymous with linear thinking, which recurs as a leitmotiv in some of their speeches, about which the least we may think is that they advocate stagnation. Is the hidden purpose of all this fuss to mummify an entire society? Unthinkable, but possible.

The other part of this gratuitous, senseless, and uncivilized fuss has to do with the licensed brothels. These "dens of depravity" must disappear, according to the modern-day messiahs. Saying this does not require any more effort than one expends on taking a sip of water. But doing it will inevitably lead us into what can without risk of exaggeration be called an Algerian hell on earth. Even today, in some villages in the interior where this kind of establishment does not exist, people have been caught housebreaking in flagrante delicto because they wanted to satisfy the needs the Good Lord has endowed us with. Even today, and despite the silence of the authorities with regard to the exact number of people down with AIDS, AIDS is certainly present among us like a premonition, like a warning of the consequences of human absurdity and stupidity.

No one can deny the existence of the housing crisis that rages in Algeria, which means that Algerians cannot hope to marry before the age of 40. Now, sir purifiers of our morals, do you think of that when you demand the

closing of the brothels, which benefit—perhaps you are not aware of the fact?—from adequate medical supervision? Have you thought of the mental and physiological balance of your young fellow Algerians, you who are unfamiliar with the thousand and one difficulties the average Algerian citizen faces every day? We make so bold as to doubt that you do and to point out to you that the children of the people have need of something other than this kind of rashly made decision, as though the future of a nation were a game consisting of sending up trial balloons, a matter of seeing whether they fly or whether they crash to earth!

We have said it a thousand times in these columns, we repeat it today, and we will repeat it as often as is necessary: The FIS is a political party and, if it makes blunders, that is its affair. What astonishes the citizen today is not the extravagances that the FIS is beginning to get used to perpetrating, but the silence, even total and inexplicable absence of the state authority, which closes its eyes to the changing of commune names and the violence, the last (in the sense of recent) seat of which was Telagh.

EGYPT

NDP Urged To Commit to Real Democracy

91A40158A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
9 Dec 90 p 5

[Commentary by 'Ali al-Dali]

[Text] Another conception is now needed in the National Democratic Party [NDP] in the wake of the boycott of elections by some parties, which did so out of a fear of failure, not election fraud. I mean a different, constructive, not destructive, conception within the NDP. NDP members do not have to applaud whenever a minister or official finishes making a speech. NDP members do not have to hasten to approve everything without even studying or thinking about it. In the previous People's Assembly, we saw NDP members on television; they did not engage any officials in dialogue or debate, nor did they express their views, if they had any. Instead, they snored through sessions in the view of television cameras!

Perhaps the fairness of these elections, as witnessed by everyone, will strongly push the NDP toward earnest, enlightened political action, in the sense that free elections might next time sweep away NDP candidates who fail during their tenure to help deepen and enrich democracy. In referring last Monday to the free elections held recently in Egypt, the NDP's chairman and leader, President Husni Mubarak, stated: Without democracy there can be no progress and development, and without a multiplicity of free opinions regarding the building of progress and development, the practical results will be extremely grave for both the building [process] and the individual. The president presented the issue of democracy in Egypt candidly and incisively when he said: We

have unshakable faith that a free vote is a firm basis for the public's participation in decisionmaking and for the legislative authority's oversight of the executive authority's actions. Without a free vote, there is no democracy!

President Husni Mubarak's remarks to members of the Institute for Political and Social Studies in France were an open, political message directed to all new members of the People's Assembly, be they members of the ruling party or other parties or independents. There is no democracy without freedom of opinion. "Opinion" is not the government's opinion, but the opinion of the people's representatives. I maintain that the NDP now has a good opportunity to revitalize its young members and to shake off this political stagnation and ongoing absence from the political scene. This absence was scandalously evident during the escalation of the waves of terrorism in the name of religion. NDP members from Upper Egypt represent powerful and strong sectors in Upper Egypt, just as deputies from Lower Egypt represent powerful sectors there. Nonetheless, they all fled from the obligatory confrontation with terror gangs that use the mantle of religion. Without exception, members of the NDP or the opposition parties abandoned the Egyptian scene, creating a vacuum for a most vicious, vile, imported political current.

The bearded youth or boy was the decision-maker in the village or city. The commander was the grocer, the bean vendor, or the university student. They were the absolute rulers in the neighborhoods. Their word was law and their punishment severe and immediate. Not one NDP deputy opposed these youths, who endanger security, stability, and development, and threaten, moreover, the course of democracy. No NDP deputy opposed these killers.

The absence [of action on the part of] NDP representatives in the People's Assembly, who are political forces in Egypt's rural and urban governorates, indirectly supports the forces of evil and terrorism perpetrated in the name of religion. The agents who are planning to destroy stability in Egypt need no more [to succeed] than this position on the part of the majority party. The majority party has vanished from the Egyptian scene in rural and urban areas, leaving only terrorism in the political arena to manipulate the nation's future as it pleases.

We want NDP deputies in the new People's Assembly—whom the people have elected freely to defend its interests and protect democracy—we want these new deputies in the new assembly, through their positions inside and outside the Assembly, to help uproot terrorism and oppose terrorism perpetrated in the name of religion as well as the merchants of religion in every governorate, village, and city. Such a democratic initiative will have constructive results, because there will appear in Egypt a sweeping, popular current against the merchants of religion based on this democratic, political initiative in the countryside and cities, inasmuch as a People's Assembly member's democratic activity does not have to be confined to the Assembly alone. Rather, if this member truly

desires democracy in Egypt, he must defend it against the enemies of democracy in Egypt. These enemies, who are ready to ambush democracy in rural and urban areas, have no authority on the Egyptian scene other than that of funerals, knives, swords, and bullets.

In my opinion, confronting terrorism perpetrated in the name of religion is now one of the nation's most important causes. This can be done only through the majority party's actions inside the People's Assembly, the enactment of civilized laws, such as those legislated by civilized countries to terminate chaos and terrorism, and through continuous political action among the masses to unite them in a serious, torrential current that sweeps away the terror gangs and repels this sudden danger which surprises Egyptians from time to time with rounds of bullets, assassinations, occasional armed assaults, and the rocking of stability, which is the basis of development.

The NDP has been immersed in a deep sleep for the past decade. During this period, terrorism activity in the name of religion and its dangers have escalated to the point of an attempt to overthrow the ruling regime by force in order for a new, murderous Khomeini to rule Egypt. The NDP can become active and move toward earnest political action only through its deputies whom the people freely elected recently. If they slumber, sedition will awaken to burn Egypt.

We want to see an acceptable image of the NDP that unites rather than divides the masses, an image that makes the citizen engage in, not shun, political action. We want the NDP to strive to attract Egyptian intellectuals to its national current, not push them to flee this current. Intellectuals are a bridge to a cultural revival and political stability. How can they engage in national political action when they see the fragmentation and breakup of political action and the extremely negative character of the democratic course.

An opportunity now exists for action to establish a true, democratic party that builds Egypt and protects democracy. This opportunity, I fear, will be lost if the people's deputies go back to sleep, applauding and cheering whenever they wake up!

ISRAEL

Demographic Study on Spread of Intifadah

91AE0226A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Dec 90
p 5

[Article by Yerah Tal]

[Text] "The intifadah also has geographical-regional aspects, and an analysis of the intifadah's development in terms of these aspects is likely to be instructive regarding its dynamic and the directions of its spread as well as warn against its spread into the area inside the

green line," claims Professor Elisha' Efrat of Tel Aviv University's Geography Department.

Efrat raises the intifadah's geographical aspects for the first time in a study that tracks the events of the intifadah. He will present his findings at the annual conference of the Israeli Geography Society to be held on 1-2 January at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Efrat argues that a survey of the events of the intifadah indicates that it began in two large urban foci, Jabaliyah [Refugee Camp] in the northern Gaza Strip and Rafiah in the southern Gaza Strip. "The regional diffusion occurred along the length of the strip's highway, which is a main transportation artery, as well as within the agricultural and densely populated area. Thus, linear contiguity developed between eight refugee camps."

The intifadah began in an area (Gaza) that is populated by about 650,000 residents whose density is about seven times that of residents of Israel. Prof. Efrat stresses that refugee camps were established in the strip in the past, and that more than 200,000 people currently live in them. These camps were situated next to the main transportation axis and cities to enable the supply of services and employment to the population. In time, the camps' populations grew more than those of the adjacent cities. "An axis of deprivation thus developed in the strip, which fed the axis of the intifadah."

According to Efrat, the intifadah developed against the backdrop of dominant demographic and regional givens. It influenced Judaea and Samaria, and very shortly began to gather momentum in large cities such as Hebron, Nabulus, and Ramallah.

The second stage of the uprising, according to Efrat's analysis, occurred in the ring surrounding Jerusalem, in the axis comprising the settlements of Qalandiyah, 'Anata, al-Mukhabir, Ra's al-'Amud, and Sur Bahr, as well as in other initial foci in Janin, Tulkarm and Qalqiliyah. In its third stage, linear contiguity developed between the initial urban foci, amid a continual thickening of the intifadah belt, which large villages also joined. In the intifadah's fourth stage, at the end of its first year, about two thirds of the territory of Judaea and Samaria were subject to intense uprising activity.

Prof. Efrat has found that most of the incidents in Judaea and Samaria occurred on the central mountaintops and west of it, toward the former green line. Samaria's geographical conditions, which are better than those of Judaea in terms of climate, topography, and openness toward the coastal plain, resulted in the multiplication and growth of settlements and populations along lateral transportation axes, which abetted, in Efrat's opinion, the spread of the intifadah there.

The Axis of Incidents

Efrat argues that the main axis of incidents has always been the line connecting the cities of Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nabulus, and Janin, with additional foci in the cities of Tulkarm and Qalqiliyah.

In general, states Efrat, there were more uprising incidents in Samaria than in Judaea, more in the cities than in the villages, and more on the mountaintops than in lower areas. The mountaintop cities became centers of religion and political nationalism, which, in his opinion, should be viewed against the backdrop of the large population living in the area and the growing rates of urbanization in the large cities. The stronger playing out of the intifadah in Samaria versus Gaza was already apparent early in the uprising's first year.

In the summary of his study, Prof. Efrat clarifies that the "spread and rapid intensification of the intifadah in the territories indicate that Israeli [political] and security leaders failed to understand, in a timely manner, the potential dynamic that is latent in a civilian uprising devoid of firearms, and how such an uprising spreads in given geographical conditions. They did not correctly interpret the combination of regional elements that characterize hostile population concentrations, the distribution of cities and refugee camps, the transportation axes, and the topography. Nor did they correctly evaluate the strength of the connection between the Gaza Strip and Judaea and Samaria."

Prof. Efrat argues that there is a danger that the intifadah could spill over into the territory of the state of Israel inside the green line. He adds that such a process could occur based on the geographical foundations with which we have become familiar in the past. In his opinion, the uprising is liable to spread in the mountainous center of the Galilee area, where Arabs and Jews live in proximity to each other, along the green line, in mixed cities, and along transportation axes that frequently serve both populations. Its main foci, according to Efrat, are liable to be in Nazareth and Umm-al-Fahm, and its directions of diffusion would probably be from the Galilee toward 'Akko and the villages of Nahal [wadi] 'Iron, and from there, to the villages of the eastern coastal plain, in the direction of Lod, Ramallah, and Yafo. Preparation based on these data is likely to prevent the intifadah from spreading to the state of Israel.

Separation From Territories Said Inevitable

91AE0226B Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 13 Dec 90
p 1B

[Article by Dan Margalit]

[Text] Jews have again been murdered, and the government and its supporters are again recommending a strong hand. After the previous murder, coalition chairwoman Sarah Doron announced that she was re-examining her opposition to the death penalty for Palestinian terrorists. Now, Police Minister Roni Milo' is also doing so. However, both know that all is vanity. Hundreds of Palestinians have been killed during the intifadah, and another execution or two will change nothing, especially since such trials would last for several years and would become the focus of international attention. The coalition and the veteran establishment in

the Labor Party have banded together to present the problem as if it were a matter of the nation's self-defense ability. However, the escalation of the violence is occurring precisely when the protection of the public is being expanded on both sides of the green line. The IDF [Israel Defense Forces], by introducing snipers in the territories, has improved its war against persons who fire guns or throw stones or gasoline bombs. Except for Yosi Sarid, no one has opposed the use of snipers. Now, the authorities are to add mass deportations, sending away hundreds of Palestinians, sealing their houses, and making it possible for their families to castigate the world's conscience in front of television cameras. The advantage will be marginal and offset by James Baker's rebuke.

Security means have also been improved in Israel. Police are equipped with protective vests, and the magnetic cards of Palestinians coming from the territories are being checked anew. It would be interesting to know what Likud ministers and Knesset members would say regarding the next terrorist attack. What distortion or linguistic perversion will they make of the facts and their understanding [of the situation] if additional Jews are killed at the barber shop, in a taxi, or at the grocery store. Security and self-defense means are indeed important, but they are not enough to solve the problem.

The distortion is in the immediate comprehension of matters at the tactical level: The Likud and most members of the Labor Alignment explain that if the Palestinians are not allowed to make a living inside the green line, the agitation in the territories will escalate. According to this approach, persons lacking work, who are confined against their will to Bayt Sahur and Bethlehem, will join terrorist organizations in droves. Such an approach contradicts reality, inasmuch as it is precisely the holders of magnetic cards, those who make their living in Israel, who are tossing hand grenades on Dizengoff Street [main thoroughfare in Tel Aviv] or pulling out knives in Petah Tiqva.

Employment does not blunt the desire to hurt Jews, because the struggle between the two peoples is not fundamentally a Marxist, class struggle, but a nationalist-ideological war. It is not hungry persons who are pulling out knives, but those with easy access to a Jewish throat.

In the Likud, they understand this bitter truth, but they choose to ignore it, because it runs counter to the ideology of the whole land of Israel. A separation between the two peoples without deporting the Arabs would be a mortal blow to the ruling party. When the government refuses to understand the need for a separation, police Minister Milo' has to explain that, from now on, the hours during which workers from the territories are allowed to work inside the green line will be limited, as if only eight hours of work are insufficient for the purpose of stabbing someone to death, and as if three Jews were not killed at 0800 in Yafo the day before yesterday.

A separation between Israel and the territories is inevitable. Rehav'am Ze'evi hopes that it will result in a transfer. The left expects that it will lead to the establishment of an independent, responsible, Palestinian entity. What common sense fails to achieve, the knifings will. The Likud and the Labor Alignment will have no choice. The separation [idea] has diverse beginnings. The gradual closure of the green line to cheap labor is the preferred separation. However Shimon Peres' formula, "Gaza is a start," or Yosi Beilin's statement that "Gaza is Palestine," or Moshe Dayan's unilateral autonomy are legitimate methods of separation. In any case, separation would have to be conditioned on the implementation of an Israeli commitment to permit Palestinians to mobilize international aid to develop their independent economy in Nabulus and Janin. Such a right cannot wait for the political negotiations that would begin after a separation.

In his book "China's Second Revolution," Harry Harding [as published] quoted the ruler Deng Xiaoping as stating that "it is not important if the cat is white or black, only that it eat mice greedily." The separation between the Israelis and the Palestinians is the cat.

KUWAIT

Information Minister Interviewed on Crisis

91AE0218A London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
21 Dec 90 pp 30-31

[Interview with Kuwaiti Minister of Information Dr. Badr Jasim al-Ya'qub with Usamah 'Ajjaj in Cairo—date not given]

[Text] Important developments recently occurred in the question of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

U.S. President Bush announced the initiation of dialogue with Baghdad, and Saddam Husayn announced a surprise step to release hostages. And so the possibilities of a military solution retreated for a while. But many of the skeptics assert that a certain deal is probably now being worked out between Baghdad and Washington. They are apprehensive about the U.S. stand, especially in view of the new statements made by Officials in Washington.

AL-HAWADITH interviewed Kuwaiti Information Minister Dr. Badr Ya'qub al-Jasim during a working visit he made to Cairo in connection with reviewing the Kuwaiti information structure in the Egyptian capital and in order to attend meetings of the ministerial committee set up by the ministers of information of Islamic states which was chaired by Saudi Information Minister 'Ali al-Sha'ir. The Egyptian-Saudi-Kuwaiti coordination succeeded in obtaining a unanimous resolution to support the cause of Kuwait in the field of information.

The following dialogue was held with the Kuwaiti Information Minister:

[AL-HAWADITH] The United States announced the initiation of a dialogue with Baghdad and on its part Iraq announced the release of hostages. Do you not believe that Kuwait, being the principal party in the crisis, is also called upon to take steps to facilitate ending this crisis? I mean specifically outstanding problems between the two countries.

[Al-Ya'qub] At the beginning of the crisis Saddam Husayn submitted a memo to the Arab League Council alleging in it that certain infringements have occurred, including some in al-Rumaylah oilfield, that contributed to damaging the Iraqi economy. Baghdad also alleged systematic encroachment by Kuwait on Iraqi territories. It is easy to reply to these claims. The al-Rumaylah oilfield, for example, lies in common Kuwaiti-Iraqi territory. In fact, we pump from al-Rumaylah oilfield from our territory in accordance with the rules of international law, at the rate of one percent of what Iraq pumps.

With regard to the second point, I do not believe that Kuwait was collaborating with imperialism and Zionism to destroy Iraq. If this was true Kuwait would not have stood with Iraq in its difficulty during eight years [of the Iraq-Iran war] and supported it with blood, funds, and security measures, support that prompted an attempt to assassinate His Highness the Emir, a fact to which all the world bears witness. With regard to the systematic encroachment on Iraqi territories, Crown Prince Shaykh Sa'd called for setting up an Arab committee in order to decide which party is systematically encroaching on the land of the other. Unfortunately, Iraq refused to enter into details of the matter or engage in a dialogue through the Arab League. If Iraq has any claims on Kuwait, we too have claims on Iraq. Iraqi claims on Kuwait could be looked into after withdrawal, and Kuwaiti claims on Iraq should also be looked into. Additionally, in a few days' time Kuwait will demand through the International Court of Justice compensation for all the damage the Iraqi invasion has caused.

[AL-HAWADITH] Pardon me, you are talking about disputes prior to the invasion while the invasion has created a new reality that must be dealt with. Do you not think that Kuwait must consider paying a price for pulling the rug from under Saddam Husayn's feet?

[Al-Ya'qub] I would like to ask you: What is required of us?

[AL-HAWADITH] It is observed that Iraq has dropped its claims regarding its historical right to Warbah and Bubian islands. It is now talking about leasing the two islands.

[Al-Ya'qub] Do you believe that anybody would accept negotiations under occupation? This principle is rejected internationally. Our acceptance of this principle would lead to the law of the jungle prevailing. I believe that Saddam Husayn must first comply with the Security Council resolutions fully and withdraw from all Kuwait. After that any existing claims and counter-claims can be

looked into and discussed. I believe that neither law, reason, logic, or Shari'ah allow what Saddam Husayn is demanding now before withdrawal.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you not think that we should be wary of many of the U.S. stands? Certain stands represent a retreat from the U.S. hardline. First, the United States has responded to Saddam Husayn's demand for dialogue after President Bush has been saying that there will be no negotiations before withdrawal. Secondly, the United States changed its mind regarding the idea of the presence of ambassadors of the Gulf countries during Bush's meeting with Tariq 'Aziz. It is feared that a certain deal is being struck behind closed doors.

Dr al-Ya'qub: I believe that Bush's initiative was a warning or a caution to Saddam Husayn. The fact that that a superpower is seeking a dialogue with him [Saddam Husayn] might satisfy his arrogance. On the other hand, we must realize that Bush's initiative for dialogue came after he obtained the strongest resolution from the Security Council. Such fears could have been real had the request for dialogue come before the resolution, in which case dialogue would have been before reaction of the major powers is known. But now everybody's position is clear. I can affirm that the U.S. negotiating position is stronger than before. Also, Washington wants to show that it has exhausted all means, including dialogue, before opening the path to military solution. The initiative could be intended for the American public opinion and Congress members more than to anybody else. We are committed to the declared positions and interpret the U.S. stand as a warning for withdrawal from Kuwait.

[AL-HAWADITH] How does Kuwait evaluate Iraq's release of hostages? Was it a forerunner of other steps for withdrawal?

[Al-Ya'qub] We believe that Saddam Husayn should have released the hostages from the beginning and not exploit them in the first place. Laws, Islamic Shari'ah, and all religions disapprove of what Saddam has done by detaining those innocent people whose only crime was to help the countries concerned in development and construction work. Was detaining them as hostages and using them as a bargaining chip a reward for them? Therefore, the strength of our rejoice over releasing them is matched by the strength of our appeal to the world countries for the need to rally around the Kuwaiti people's struggle for the liberation of Kuwait.

[AL-HAWADITH] What is your opinion on the question of not linking the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with finding a solution for the Palestine problem?

[Al-Ya'qub] Saddam Husayn's demand for linkage is a historical mistake, because linkage means losing Palestine forever. We have been supporting and continue to support the Palestinian people's right to liberate their land. Linkage means obstructing the Palestinian people's right of return. On the other hand, it means depriving the Palestinians from the aid funds they used to receive from

the Gulf countries to support the Palestinian movement. Based on our information, the Palestinian intifadah is in retreat and the PLO is suffering from a financial crisis. This is not counting the moral support it used to receive. If Saddam Husayn does not withdraw from Kuwait and the military option was used in order to force him out, our Arab world will become 100 Palestines and not just one.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the Gulf position, particularly since preparations are now underway to hold a meeting for the GCC leaders in Doha?

[Al-Ya'qub] Since the beginning of the crisis the Gulf countries' attitude has been great. They declared their solidarity with the Kuwaiti government and people. I believe that any proposal Kuwait will submit to the summit will be aimed at bolstering unity of the Arab rank. Don't forget that Kuwait was the first to call for the establishment of the GCC as a step toward Arab solidarity. Many ideas are to be discussed. After Kuwait is shortly liberated, many concepts will be revised with the aim of consolidating and laying down the right principles for the GCC.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do you not think that Kuwait in particular and the Gulf countries in general should have played an active role in diminishing Arab support for Iraq, particularly since the Gulf countries have strong and excellent relations with some of the Arab countries?

Dr. al-Ya'qubi: I believe that not a single Arab country has stood against Kuwait or declared its support for the invasion, including Jordan, the PLO, Sudan, and Yemen. There has been differences in views, but recently they have begun understanding the situation. The proof of what I say is the fact that at the meeting of the bureau of ministers of information of Islamic countries I submitted a proposal calling for supporting the Kuwaiti people's struggle and demanding the withdrawal of Iraqi forces and the restoration of legitimacy. This proposal won the unanimous approval of all the delegations, including the PLO's. I believe that there will probably be a change in the attitude of certain regimes that in the past period had the opportunity to study the situation more closely.

[AL-HAWADITH] Going back to Bush's initiative, do you not think that Baghdad's choice of the timing to declare the release of hostages before 'Aziz-Bush meeting could affect the U.S. attitude in its entirety?

[Al-Ya'qubi] President Bush stated that the release of hostages will not affect the basic demands of the United States and the world community, which is compliance with the Security Council resolutions on Iraqi withdrawal and the restoration of legitimacy. Bush also contacted His Highness Shaykh Jabir and confirmed this to him. With such tactics Saddam Husayn is trying to split the international, Arab, and Islamic rank. We

believe that all the countries and governments are well aware of this fact. He will not be able to make the world relinquish its firm and basic stands toward the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

[AL-HAWADITH] In a recent statement the chief of the U.S. JCS spoke about keeping the American forces in the area for some time after Iraqi withdrawal. This is contrary to the declared and firm U.S. stand.

[Al-Ya'qub] We would also pose the question: If Saddam withdraws today, what guarantees are there that he will not once again repeat his aggression? The common borders must be demarcated in accordance with the previous agreements, and there should be international guarantees that such an attack will not be repeated. As to what are the guarantees we are asking for and whether they are international, Arab, or Islamic is a matter that we can discuss later.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do these guarantees include the security arrangements proposed by the United States?

[Al-Ya'qub] The United States has changed its mind about the idea of security arrangements. If there is need for such arrangements, I believe that it is possible for the Arabs after this experience to fill this gap by creating an Arab system for security of the area.

[AL-HAWADITH] After all these developments, what is the likelihood of resorting to military solution?

[Al-Ya'qub] If Saddam does not withdraw and does not comply with the UN resolutions, a military solution might be necessary.

[AL-HAWADITH] A call for convening a full or mini Arab summit was made some time earlier. Would Kuwait take part in it if it is proposed now?

[Al-Ya'qub] What's going to be done at this conference? Clear resolutions were issued by the latest Arab summit in Cairo. They contained the same objectives and demands made by the nonaligned group, the Islamic countries group, and the Security Council. So what more could an Arab summit do?

[AL-HAWADITH] A summit could be face-saving for Saddam Husayn.

[Al-Ya'qub] He is the only one who can save his own face and the only person who can spare the area tremendous dangers.

[AL-HAWADITH] Was there recently any differences in views in dealing with the crisis?

[Al-Ya'qub] We all work with one heart, one conscience, and one mind. Our aims are common. In my recent visit to Cairo, for example, I had with me the minister of justice and housing. We operate in the same sphere and work with a team spirit.

BANGLADESH

European Community Letter to Shahabuddin

91AS0467A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 23 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Ambassadors of France and Italy and the Charge d'Affaires of the Netherlands called on the Acting President Mr Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed at President's Secretariat in Dhaka Saturday morning and handed over to him a letter on behalf of the EC countries, reports BSS.

The envoys who called on the Acting President were Serge Degallaix of France, Sandro Maria Siggia of Italy and John Drixx, the Charge d'Affaires of the Netherlands.

The EC letter said that the political committee of the community in its meeting held in Brussels on 11 December expressed deep interest in the recent developments in Bangladesh which set in motion a process leading to holding of free and fair elections. These events will further strengthen efforts towards democratisation and contribute towards social and economic development of the people of Bangladesh, the letter added.

Mr Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed expressed the hope that the EC would continue to act as a development partner of Bangladesh in the process of its socio-economic development. Emphasising the role of the press in a democratic society, the Acting President said that a 10-member committee has been set up to examine the provisions of different laws relating to press and publications so that freedom of the press is ensured as per the country's constitution.

German Envoy

The German Ambassador in Bangladesh, Mr Karl Scholtyssek, called on the Acting President, Mr Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed, at President's Secretariat in Dhaka Saturday morning.

Mr Scholtyssek conveyed to the Acting President the best wishes on behalf of the people and government of Germany and handed over a message of felicitations from the Chancellor to him.

He expressed the hope that the friendship and cooperation between the two countries will strengthen further.

Justice Shahabuddin thanked the Ambassador and reciprocated the sentiments expressed by him.

Reportage on Ershad Status, Other Matters

Grounds for Arrest

91AS0577A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 28 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] Ousted President Hussain Muhammad Ershad and his wife Raushan have been kept under house arrest

on charges of corruption and abuse of power, according to the grounds of arrests given by the authorities, reports UNB [United News of Bangladesh].

Ershad and his wife were confined to house arrest on 12 December under the 1974 Special Powers Act which permits arrests without charge. But under rules the grounds for such arrests are to be shown within 15 days of the detention.

"Public wrath is on you as a corrupt and power abusing person," said the notice that was served on Ershad and his wife on 24 December detailing the reasons why they have been held.

It said, "the government being fully satisfied that for public safety and 'public order' reason you should be kept detained under the Section 3 (1)(A) of 1974 Special Powers Act."

Ershad received the grounds of his detention at the house in Gulshan where he has remained confined since 12 December.

A police source told UNB that Ershad signed the notice, but he hesitated a moment before doing it. But his wife Raushan, looking angry, first refused to sign the paper.

"Have we not done anything for the poor children, women and other people of this country?," Raushan told the police official who took the paper for signing.

At first she left the room, but in a short while she reappeared and signed the notice without giving the date, said a police officer who was present at the scene.

The government arrested several former ministers and officials of Ershad government, including the former Vice-President Moudud Ahmed, former Home Minister Mahmudul Hasan, ex-Deputy Prime Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain, Industries Secretary Mosharaf Hossain and his wife Zeenat.

Residence Searched

91AS0577B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 2 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] An amount of Bangladesh Taka one crore ninety lakh eighty-one thousand five hundred sixty-five (1,90,81,565), eight unlicensed fire arms, eight licensed fire arms, 164 electrical goods, 971 pieces of dresses and 2,614 pieces of other items were among the articles found at the Cantonment resident of former President Hussain Muhammad Ershad, according to a Press Note, reports BSS.

The articles and the cash have been recovered under the supervision of an eight-member Committee of which the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate is the convener. The other members of the Committee are: representative of the Military Secretary to the President, a representative of the Army Headquarters, a representative of Military Engineering Service [MES], a representative of Telephone and Telegraph [T and T] Board, a representative

of the Works Department, Deputy Commissioner of Metropolitan Police and former President's representative Mr Mustafizur Rahman.

The articles recovered could be divided into three categories: (1) personal, (2) Government-Bangabhaban and MES and (3) T and T Board, the Press Note said.

The articles belonging to the Government could be ascertained from office records. Since no record is available regarding personal goods, the Committee is of the view that the issue could be settled after ascertaining the opinion of the former President and in the light of the guidelines to be determined by the Government, the Press Note added.

The Committee in its report on 29 December last mentioned that the directive of the Government would be necessary to settle the issue of cash money and the unlicensed firearms, the Press Note said.

Further Charges

91AS0577C Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 9 Jan 91 p 1

[Text] The anti-corruption department Tuesday lodged a case against deposed President Ershad charging him with misuse of power and embezzlement of huge public funds, reports UNB.

Police said Deputy Director Salahuddin Ahmed of the department filed the case with Cantonment thana.

The toppled President has been sued under section 5 (A) of number 2 Anti-Corruption Act of 1947 and section 409 of Bangladesh Penal Code (BPC).

General Ershad, who seized power from BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] government in 1982, was accused of enjoying extra privileges and misappropriation of huge public funds for himself and also members of his family by misusing state power during his tenure.

It is the second case filed by the caretaker government against Ershad, interned in a Gulshan residence along with his wife Raushan.

The first one, an arms case, was lodged with the same police station on Saturday on charges of possessing unauthorised weapons at his official residence.

The All-Party Student Unity (APSU) and mainline political alliances are demanding that Ershad, his wife, Vice-President Moudud Ahmed and Home Minister Mahmudul Hasan, also under house-arrest, be sent to jail and put on trial on specific charges.

They are also demanding arrest and trial of all accomplices of what is dubbed autocratic regime.

Nominations Valid

91AS0577D Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 18 Jan 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] All the five nomination papers of ousted President Hussein Mohammad Ershad, rejected earlier by the Returning Officer of Rangpur, were declared valid by the Election Commission on Thursday, Jatiya Party [JP] sources said, reports UNB.

The former President, who remains interned under Special Powers Act, has filed nominations from five out of six constituencies in his home district to contest the 27 February parliamentary elections.

But all his nomination papers were cancelled by the Returning Officer on grounds of non-availability of permission from the Home Ministry because he has been interned.

The Election Commission on Thursday heard the appeals against the decision of the Returning Officer and declared all his five nominations valid over ruling the cancellation.

Ershad filed the nominations as a candidate of the Jatiya Party, of which he was the chairman, from Rangpur 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 constituencies.

Appeals were submitted on Wednesday to the Chief Election Commissioner challenging the cancellation nominations of Ershad and some other of JP leaders.

Today (Friday) was the last date of appeal against cancellation of nominations as well as hearing on the same.

A total of 3,820 nominations were filed for the 300-seat parliament but 56 were rejected by the Returning Officers at different places across the country.

Nominations of former JP leaders and former Ministers Naziur Rahman (Bhola-1) and Nurunnabi Chand (Rajshahi) were also declared valid. Their nominations were earlier cancelled.

Meanwhile, at Rangpur town JP activists and supporters brought out a truck procession this afternoon on hearing that Ershad's nominations were found valid.

The JP also withdrew programmes of hartal and demonstration in the town. Hartal was being observed in Rangpur on Thursday to protest cancellation of Ershad's nominations.

Officials at Rangpur said all the 61 JP workers and leaders, arrested during a general strike in the town Wednesday, were released on Thursday.

Awami League Claims Conspiracy Continues

91AS0502A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 26 Dec 90 p 8

[Text] Awami League leaders Saturday called for maintaining people's unity at any cost to ensure the right of voting in a free and fair atmosphere, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

They were addressing a reception accorded to Awami Jubo League President Jubo Sangram Parishad leader Mostafa Mohsin Montu marking his release from jail. Mr Montu was arrested by the autocratic government of ousted president Ershad on 27 November and released on 6 December following the fall of the Ershad Government.

Presided over by Mahbubuzzaman Bulu, vice president of Jubo League, the reception was addressed by Awami League Presidium members Zohra Tajuddin, Abdus Samad Azad and Zillur Rahman, General Secretary Sajeda Chowdhury, Joint Secretary Amir Hossain Amu and Jubo League leaders Fulu Sarkar and Advocate Saidur Rahman.

The Awami League leaders observed that though the autocratic government of Ershad has failed, conspiracy against the people and the country was still going on.

They pleaded that the unity of people forged on the streets must be maintained till the establishment of an accountable government through free and fair polls.

In his speech, Mr Abdus Samad congratulated the members of the Armed Forces and the Chief of Army Staff Lieutenant General Nooruddin Khan for their role in the recent anti-autocratic movement.

Mr Zillur Rahman said the fall of Ershad had heralded the people's victory, and it should be completed through holding free and fair elections. We must proceed forward very cautiously, because conspiracies to foil the victory were still going on, he said.

Begun Sajeda Chowdhury demanded rectification of all distortions made in the school text books during the autocratic regimes in the country since 1975.

She pleaded that the new generation should be educated with the correct history of the liberation of the country since 1952.

Mr Amir Hossain Amu said the associates of Ershad were trying to create disturbances in society.

He urged the people to identify those who had collaborated with the autocratic rule of Ershad and said under no circumstances these agents would be spared.

Mr Amu demanded that the killers of the Bangabandhu should be brought to book for holding legal action against them.

He said all illegal and unauthorised arms and ammunition should be recovered for holding free and fair polls.

Mr Mostafa Mohsin Montu called upon the people, particularly the youth community, to take a fresh vow for realising the goals of our hard-earned independence through establishing a democratic government based on free and fair polls.

New Islamic Political Party Formed

91AS0482A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 22 Dec 90 p 10

[Text] A new political party styled as Bangladesh Islami Front was formed in a meeting held at Segunbagicha on Friday.

A 31-member convening committee headed by Prof Harunur Rashid was also formed in the meeting. Besides, 4 joint conveners and 26 members were also selected.

Parties Announce Election Plans

Awami League, Alliance

91AS0501A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 27 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Awami League Central Working Committee Wednesday decided to contest the upcoming parliamentary elections jointly with its components in the 8-party Alliance, sources close to the meeting said, reports UNB [United News of Bangladesh].

A formal announcement is expected to be made today (Thursday).

Party President Sheikh Hasina presided over the working committee meeting held at the Bangabandhu Bhaban, which followed the 2-day extended meeting of the party.

Sources told UNB that the Awami League would also consider electoral accord with the 5-party Alliance.

The basis of such an electoral accord, they said, should be the restoration of parliamentary democracy, 1972 constitution and spirit and values of the liberation war.

The Awami League has already communicated its decision to other components of the 8-party Alliance, sources said, adding that it would also talk to the 5-party Alliance for united participation in the elections.

Asked about the prospect of united participation in the elections by the 3 alliances, a senior of the 8-Party Alliance said the "chance is slim" BNP [Bangladesh National Party] had already started the election campaign in its favour, he added.

Sources said the Awami League Working Committee had also set-up, a three-member enquiry committee with its presidium member Advocate Sirajul Huq as the

chairman to probe charges of corruption and misappropriation of funds by deposed President Ershad and his associates, including ministers and MPs.

In a resolution, the working committee demanded immediate arrest and trial of Ershad and his corrupt associates, including ministers and MPs.

National United Front

91AS0501B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 27 Dec 90 p 10

[Text] The 11-party National United Front formed recently has announced its decision to contest in the forthcoming national elections.

Addressing a press conference on Wednesday, the leaders of the National United Front said they will try to contest in all the seats in the coming election.

They said that in a joint meeting of the 11-parties, advocate Mustafa Hamid Chowdhury and Ali Hossain Akhter were elected chairman and secretary general of the Front.

The components of United National Front are: Krishak Sramik Janata Party, Nagarik Sanghati, Jatiya Biplobi Party, Islamic Socialist Party, Peoples Party, Jatiya Ganatantrik Dal, Muslim Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, Gana Oikkya Kendra, Bhashani NAP and Gana Oikkya Party.

The National United Front has announced a 17-point election manifesto at the press conference.

Developments in Bangladesh Communist Party

Manik Addresses Meeting

91AS0484A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 20 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] Mr Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, Secretary General of the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) Wednesday called upon three Alliances and all the pro-liberation forces to forge a greater unity to consolidate peoples victory over autocracy, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

He said, the victory emerging with the fall of autocratic ruler Ershad had to be carried on till democracy was established and constitutional government took root.

Mr Manik was delivering his presidential address at a public meeting organised by the CPB in front of its Purana Paltan office. Mr Morshed Ali, Mr Shekhar Datta, Mr Mujahidul Islam Selim and Nuh-Alam Lenin were among others who spoke on the occasion.

Reiterating the CPB's demand for a national salvation Government to consolidate peoples victory over the tyrannic rule. Mr Manik reminded all that democratic forces had succeeded because the people were united.

The CPB leaders who demanded compensations to the victims killed in the overthrow of the autocratic regime, also asked the interim Government to take necessary steps to preserve the memories of shaheeds who laid down their lives for the victory of democracy.

Mr Manik asked the interim government to remove all the vestiges of autocratic regime for the successful holding of free and fair election. In this connection, he stated that recovery of illegal arms was utterly important for holding fair polls.

Emphasising the importance of maintaining unity of all democratic and pro-Liberation Forces at this critical juncture of national life. Mr Manik and Bangladesh was almost like a sunken ship which had to be salvaged unitedly in the manner we fought for the ouster of the Ershad regime.

Expressing despair that some hoodlums of Jatiya Party had taken shelter with some parties, the CPB leader said for the sake of democratic movement and to honour the sentiments of the people such undesirables must be thrown out immediately. He said without cleaning the "garbage" accumulated during the nine-year rule of Ershad, we will not be able to accomplish our task. The task of cleaning the nation including the administration was such a challenging one that it was sheer impossible to do it singlehandedly, he opined.

Mr Manik who made a fervent appeal to the three alliances to come to an understanding in fielding candidates for the coming election, reiterated that the CPB will continue its movement till the final victory was achieved. "We must maintain unity" till democracy was firmly rooted, he stressed.

Mr Mujahidul Islam Selim demanded complete wiping out of anarchist forces for creating a congenial atmosphere so that people could exercise their right to vote freely and without any fear. He said, Ershad has gone. But his cronies are still there to undo the peoples victory. Mr Selim also asked people to be alert against any undue pressure on the interim government which might hinder holding of election.

Mr Shekhar Datta called for united efforts to give a concrete shape of possibilities, making their appearances with the fall of Ershad regime. He said, like in the past the Communist Party would continue to be in the forefront of the peoples struggle to materialise the hopes and aspirations of the downtrodden into reality.

Conspiracies Alleged

91AS0484B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 26 Dec 90 pp 1, 10

[Text] CPB leader Saifuddin Ahmed Manik on Tuesday warned that conspiracies are on to foil the parliamentary elections scheduled on 27 February, reports UNB [United News of Bangladesh].

"The attack of communal and fanatic forces on teachers and students of Chittagong University is a clear evidence of this evil design," General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh (CPB) told a workers meeting at the party central office Tuesday afternoon.

Jamaat-e-Islami is not a democratic force, Manik said, alleging that it was a secret accomplice of the ousted autocratic regime of Ershad.

He also warned that "some political parties were" raising Mastans for capturing vote centres during the elections."

The CPB leader said the nation wants the three alliances to remain united while participating in the coming elections and forming the future government.

Presided over by Zainal Abedin, the meeting was addressed, among others, by city CPB leaders Maniruz-zaman and Mozammel Hossain.

Later a procession was brought out, which paraded city streets and chanted slogans condemning the incident at Chittagong University.

Jatiya Oikya Front Presidium Meets

91AS0576A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 21 Jan 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Jatiya Oikya Front, an alliance of 23 like-minded political parties led by Khondakar Moshtaq Ahmed, on Sunday decided to take part in the coming Parliamentary elections as "a token participation" by keeping nominations in several specific seats, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

The Front, in its presidium meeting on Sunday with Khondakar Moshtaq Ahmed in the chair, observed that congenial atmosphere for election was not prevailing in the country but the election had no substitute for maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the country, introducing representative government in the light of Iman and Akida of the larger portion of the people and for economic emancipation.

The Oikya Front will withdraw candidates from the rest of the constituencies for the greater interest of the people and the country.

The Jatiya Oikya Front will continue efforts for the unity of the patriotic nationalists and Islamic forces for resisting expansionist forces, the meeting decided.

Executive Orders on Publishing Repealed

21 December Report

91AS0480A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 21 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] The Government on Thursday repealed all the executive orders issued since 1976 regarding the Printing Presses and Publications (Declaration and Registration) Act of 1973, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

This was decided at a meeting of the Council of Advisers held at the Bangabhaban with Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed in the chair.

An official handout on Thursday night said: "the council reviewed the provisions of the Printing Presses and Publications (Declaration and Registration) Act of 1973 and decided to rescind with immediate effect all the executive orders issued at different times since 1976 which created impediments in the normal operation of the act particularly with regard to declaration of newspaper.

The council also decided to form a 10-member committee headed by a sitting Judge of the Supreme Court with representatives from the journalists, editors, owners of newspapers, department of journalism of the University and concerned ministries to examine the existing provisions of the Act and suggest appropriate measures.

The committee will submit its report within a fortnight.

The Council of Advisers also decided to abolish the Jatiya Jubo Kalyan Kendro.

Clarification

91AS0480B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 22 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] A 10-member Committee which the Government has decided to form Thursday night to examine the provision for the Printing Presses and Publications Act of 1973 will also examine the part of the Special Powers Act of 1974 which relates to Press, prejudicial reports and matters connected herewith., reports BSS.

A Government handout said the council of Advisers on Thursday night decided to form the Committee.

Life Imprisonment for Extortion Decreed

91AS0481A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 22 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] The Government has decided to make the penalty for commission of offence of extortion, even by way of subscription or donation, more rigorous providing for maximum punishment up to life imprisonment, a Press Note issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs said on Friday evening, reports BSS [Bangladesh News Agency].

The Police may arrest offenders without warrant, the Press Note said.

Relevant laws are being amended for this purpose, it added.

The Government has promulgated an Ordinance amending the definition of "extortion" and providing deterrent punishment for it.

The "extortion" will now include receiving donations or subscriptions by means of force, threat or intimidation, a Government announcement said.

Maximum punishment for extortion under Section 387 of the Penal Code is the imprisonment for life and minimum punishment is seven years imprisonment.

Maximum punishment for extortion under Section 385 of the penal code is 14 years imprisonment and minimum punishment is 5 years.

Both the offences have been made cognisable under the Criminal Procedure Code.

INDIA

BJP Issues Statement on U.S. Relations

91AS0497A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
24 Dec 90 p 11

[Text] New Delhi, Dec 23—The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] yesterday expressed the hope that "forgetting the recent bitterness in economic relations, the two major democracies of the world, USA and India, will start a new chapter in their relationship based on mutual self-respect."

In a statement, the BJP vice-president, Mr S.S. Bhandari, welcome the USA's decision to terminate investigations against India under the Super 201 and special 301 provisions.

He said the BJP is happy that at least the USA has recognized the sovereign right of India to decide its economic policies.

"The BJP is of the firm opinion that India should not be dictated by any outside force with regard to its policies. All policies, be they with regard to foreign investment or import of raw materials, should be decided, keeping in view the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the country."

Mr Bhandari said the BJP hoped that the change in USA's attitude with regard to its Omnibus Trade Act would be extended to GATT with regard to its stand on related issues such as trade related intellectual property rights and trade related import of service.

The USA, being the major trading partner of India, has built up a strong economic relationship over the years. This could be further strengthened through respecting each other's domestic socio-economic conditions and aspirations. If even comparatively well developed European countries could not be persuaded at the recent GATT meeting on the question of farm subsidy, "strong-arm tactics" on developing countries like India only indicate arrogance of wealth, he said.

The BJP earnestly hopes that forgetting the recent bitterness in economic relations between the two major democracies of the world, now a chapter will start with relationship based on mutual self-respect.

Concern Over U.S. Strategy on India

91AS0491A Madras *THE HINDU* in English
29 Dec 90 p 9

[Words in italics as published]

[Text] New Delhi 28 December: Foreign and Defence Ministry officials are exercised over reports that the United States has re-written its national security strategy document. But are unaware of the contents of the section of India which has been significantly altered.

The American exercise pre-dates the Gulf problem and was a consequence of the end of the Cold War and the American-Soviet entente. With the change in its relations with the Soviet Union, there was no need for the U.S. to maintain a distant posture towards India.

The existence of the document is acknowledged by U.S. officials but they are unwilling or unable to say what it contains. An Indian said they knew the document existed and that it had an "interestingly revised section on India." Knowledge of the contents would assist it in dealings with the U.S. since India too was beginning to feel the compulsions of revising its national security policy in the light of the decline of Soviet interest in this area.

A senior Indian official told *THE HINDU*, 'If only we had an intelligence service worth its name we would not be in this predicament.' He was perhaps being unfair to the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), but it is unlikely that the latter would attempt to target the higher echelons of the U.S. Administration. The infiltration attempts have been known to have been directed the other way.

The revised U.S.'s national security policy paper is likely to have been prepared by the National Security Council staff as part of an overall approach towards the emerging security scenario. The factors that could have been taken into account are the evolution of India's technological and industrial base, its international political posture, its military muscle, and above all its geo-political situation.

U.S. policy-makers were taken aback at the pace of developments in the world and till the collapse of the Berlin Wall they were not willing to lower their guard against the Soviets. Now, with the Soviets lining up behind them on most issues, including the difficult confrontation with Iraq, the U.S. is racing to catch up with the new trend. The U.S. thrust is towards developing relations that will promote "security and stability." Unfortunately, even before the Cold War was formally declared over after the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Agreement, Mr Saddam Husayn served notice that the world was still a difficult place to be in.

The U.S. seems to have realised the limits of dealing exclusively with Pakistan on security issues and in any case, with the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, the *raison de etre* has vanished.

According to a U.S. diplomat, the short-term American priority was managing change in the Soviet Union and then China and ensuring that the dismantling of the authoritarian structures there would not have negative spill-over effects. Following this the U.S. would like to enter into stable multilateral relationships that would stress collective security.

Developments in Trade, Relations With USSR

Trade Plan Finalized

91AS0487A New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
14 Dec 90 p 2

[Text] India and the Soviet Union have finalised the trade plan for 1991 envisaging a total turnover of Rs [rupees] 9,411 crore, reports PTI.

This will consist of Rs 4,330 crore worth of import from the Soviet Union and Rs 5,081 crore worth of exports to the Soviet Union.

A protocol to this effect was signed in the Capital on Friday by commerce secretary, S.P. Shukla, on behalf of the Government of India and V.F. Mordvinov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, on behalf of the Soviet Union.

The total target turnover for 1991 represents a growth of 7 percent compared to the 1990 trade plan and a growth of 12 percent over the turnover of trade achieved in 1990.

The Soviet Union has agreed to maintain supplies of crude oil to India at 4.5 million tonnes despite a drastic reduction of about 50 percent in the global export of crude oil from the Soviet Union and overall decline in production.

The major items of exports to the USSR during 1991 cover different sectors including agriculture, leather, chemicals, engineering and textiles.

The major items of import from the USSR during 1991 include crude oil, petroleum products, fertilisers, newsprint, ferrous and non-ferrous metals.

During discussions held from 10 to 13 December between the Soviet Union delegation and the Indian team, the implementation of the Indo-Soviet trade plan for 1990 was also reviewed.

The review indicated that exports from India would be around Rs 5,150 crore and imports would be around Rs 3,250 crore during 1990.

Trade Imbalance Noted

91AS0487B Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 22 Dec 90 p 13

[Text] New Delhi, 21 December: A serious problem of imbalance in Indo-Soviet trade has cropped up following

perestroika in the Soviet Union, which has put a strain on the bilateral trading system.

While India's exports to Soviet Union are doing well, imports from that country have not shown a corresponding dynamism. The trade plan for 1991 thus shows a wide discrepancy between India's exports to and imports from the Soviet Union.

A nodal group has been constituted under the chairmanship of the commerce minister, Dr Subramanian Swamy, to work out a long-term agreement up to 2000 A.D. with USSR on trade and economic matters.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has agreed to continue with the rupee payment system up to the end of 1995.

Both Czechoslovakia and Romania have also requested India to continue the rupee payment system but with a difference. While Czechoslovakia wants the trade and payments agreement to be renewed for another five years, Romania wants continuation of the system, but with dollar denomination of contracts.

Poland will, however, move over to convertible currency trading from January.

Cauvery Oil Search

91AS0487C Madras *THE HINDU* in English
31 Dec 90 p 4

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] The Oil and Natural Gas Commission [ONGC] is concerned over the performance of the Soviets who are prospecting for oil in a part of the on-land Cauvery Basin. Knowledgeable sources say that the Soviet operations have not at all been productive compared to the ONGC's. The Soviets' performance in the Cambay and West Bengal basins have been equally dismal, they say.

The ONGC had signed a contract with a Soviet Company called Techno-Export to conduct seismic surveys and also drill for oil in the Ariyalur-Pondicherry sub-basin under the Intensive Integrated Exploration Project (IIEP). This contract was for seismic coverage of 4,000 line km.

Seismic surveys were completed for 4,000 line km as per the contract. But out of 46 wells contracted to be drilled, only 6 wells have so far been drilled. The Soviets have also made no commercial discovery of oil or gas in this sub-basin whereas the ONGC considers the area quite promising.

The ONGC has also struck oil at Bhuvanagiri in the area and the structure is flowing oil. The Soviets have concentrated their efforts near the Bhuvanagiri area in the hope of an early discovery of oil-gas but to no avail.

When the ex-chairman of the ONGC, Col S.P. Wahi, was asked at a press meet in Madras more than a year ago about the poor performance of the Soviets in Ariyalur-Pondicherry sub-basin, he had replied. "We are worried

because our money is involved." In fact, an exasperated official remarked that the "Soviets are wasting our time and money."

Twice as costly: Sources say that a close comparison of the operations of the Soviets with that of the ONGC has highlighted the limitation of the Soviets. While the cost in the Cauvery basin for the seismic surveys for a line km for the Soviets works out to more than Rs [rupees] 97,000, it is only Rs 43,000 for the ONGC.

Similarly, the cost for a metre drilled under the IIEP for the Soviets is double that of the ONGC. While the expenses for a metre drilled under the IIEP is Rs 26,962, it is about Rs 13,500 for the ONGC.

This high unit cost under the IIEP is primarily due to the steep man-power cost of the Soviets, exorbitant cost of their equipment and consumables compared to the Indian operations.

The Soviets who started drilling in the Ariyalur-Pondicherry sub-basin in 1987 are to continue them till 1995. While the expenditure for a rig for the Soviets apart from lump-sum payment for mobilisation and demobilisation of the equipment and crew, customs duty etc., is about Rs 1.70 lakhs a day, it is as economical as Rs 65,000 in the Indian operations.

In other words, the Indian operations cost about one-third of the Soviets. Sources explain that the total depreciation on the equipment works out to 157.50 percent of the cost of the equipment apart from mobilisation and demobilisation for the Soviets. This reason accounted for the high rig hire charges for them.

While the Soviets have deployed two rigs in North Cambay to prospect for oil and three rigs in the Cauvery basin, drilling in West Bengal is being carried out with the help of an ONGC rig assisted by the Soviet crew.

Food to Soviets

91AS0487D Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
14 Dec 90 p 5

[Text] New Delhi, 13 December (PTI): India is rushing supplies of medicine and processed food by air to Moscow to offset "temporary shortages" being faced by the Soviet Union, an external affairs ministry spokesman said today.

The spokesman said the government had decided to provide the Soviet Union one million tonnes of wheat on loan as well as a gift of 20,000 tonnes of rice and other essential items.

President's Rule Imposed on Goa

91AS0505A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 15 Dec 90 p 1, 13

[Text] New Delhi, 14 December (UNI)—President's rule was imposed in Goa tonight in view of the stalemate in the state assembly in which no group has been able to establish a majority.

The proclamation, under article 356 of the constitution imposing president's rule in the state, was issued after the Union cabinet recommended it to the president.

The cabinet had, earlier, approved Governor Khurshid Alam Khan's report recommending imposition of president's rule.

The Goa assembly had been kept in suspended animation.

Dilip Chaware adds from Panaji: Earlier, the caretaker chief minister, Mr Luis Proto Barbosa, was disqualified from the assembly membership today. A clash between the legislature and the judiciary appeared imminent in the state over the disqualification of two MLAs [Members of Legislative Assembly] last night.

Dr Barbosa's membership ended today with the one-member house committee of Dr Kashinath Jhalimi, the former law minister and MGP [Maharashtra Gomantak Party] MLA, ruling that his membership was being discontinued under para 5 of the 10th schedule of the constitution.

With Dr Barbosa's disqualification, the effective strength of the 40-member house has gone down to 37. Two MGP MLAs, Mr Ratnakar Chopdekar and Mr Sanjay Bandekar, were disqualified last night by the speaker, Mr Surendra Sirsat.

The two members moved the Bombay high court today for a stay of the speaker's order disqualifying them. The high court bench comprising Justice Ms Sujata Manohar and Justice Mr Eurico Da Silva directed the speaker to stay the disqualification order till further orders.

The speaker, however, told reporters that he would not comment on the order now. He said his position as speaker was unique and that he had acted within his jurisdiction.

Dr Barbosa this morning appeared before Dr Jhalim in person. Dr Jhalim reserved his orders after the hearing, which were delivered later.

Dr Jhalim told reporters that his decision on the matter would be final since the house had authorised him to decide it.

The petition against Dr Barbosa had been filed by Mr Luiz Faleiro, Congress MLA, soon after Dr Barbosa left the Congress to head the Goan People's Party [GPP]. Mr Faleiro was not present today.

With this development, the GPP support to the Congress has been reduced to three members. The Congress has 13 members and is supported by an independent. The MGP has 16 members and is supported by 3 GPP members.

The Goa speaker, Mr Surendra Sirsat's decision to disqualify two MGP MLAs on the ground of defection is a landmark in the constitutional history of the country,

according to experts. The two members, Mr Ratnakar Chopdekar and Mr Sanjay Bandekar, were disqualified on a petition by the party.

Notices were sent to their last-known address and the disqualification proceedings were advertised in newspapers by the MGP and the legislature secretariat. The hearing was held in the speaker's chamber for over an hour last night.

The speaker simultaneously disallowed a petition seeking a disqualification of six members of the Goan People's Party. The members were Mr Churchill Alemao, Mr J.B. Gonsalves, Mr Luis Alex (Mama) Cordozo, Ms Farrel Furtado, Mr Maucin Godinho and Mr Somnath Zaurkar. The speaker gave them also a personal hearing.

The speaker said in his order that the cases of Mr Chopdekar and Mr Bandekar had many factual and legal similarities and he was, therefore, clubbing them together. He ruled that the members had voluntarily given up the membership of their political party as they had not attended the special session of 10 December which had been convened for Mr Luis Proto Barbosa to prove his majority, in spite of the whip.

Both the members had replied to the notices and were represented by their advocates at the personal hearing. The petitioner, Mr Ramakant Khalap, was represented by Dr Kashinath Jhalmi, and MGP MLA.

Mr Sirsat said Mr Jhalmi produced copies of several newspapers showing photographs of the two MLAs, elected on MGP tickets, with congress MLAs and Mr Barbosa when they met the governor with the congress legislature wing leader, Dr Wilfred D'Souza. The two MLAs also did not deny this.

The speaker said he was satisfied that they had voluntarily given up the membership of the MGP by their conduct, action and speech.

He said he was disqualifying them under para 2(1)(A) of the 10th schedule of the constitution on the ground of defection and that they ceased to be members of the house from 13 December.

About the petition seeking the disqualification of the six MLAs who formed the Goan People's Party, the speaker said their switch of allegiance constituted a split as they formed a third of the Congress strength in the house. The MLAs had at the outset objected the maintainability of the petition by the congress MLA, Mr Dominic Fernandes, which the speaker upheld.

The speaker noted that the petition had not been signed and verified by each of the 12 MLAs who were petitioners.

The petitioners also relied on a list of documents which had been shown on the last page of the petition after the verification clause.

UNI adds:

The Goa bench of the Bombay high court comprising Justice Ms Sujata Manohar and Justice Mr Eurico Da Silva, accepted the pleas made on behalf of the MGP MLAs Mr Ratnakar Chopekhar and Mr Sanjay Bandekar, that they were denied justice as the notice was given only 48 hours before and that too at night.

The court felt that the two MLAs were not allowed to give evidence when they asked for time. Even the judgement was given hurriedly at 11:30 p.m., the judges opined.

President Apprised of Lack of Order in Tamil Nadu

91AS0407C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 30 December, (PTI)—AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] leader Ms Jayalalitha today met President R. Venkataraman and submitted a memorandum demanding that the Union Government should take appropriate action to check the deteriorating law and order situation in Tamil Nadu.

She told the President that the law and order situation had deteriorated in Tamil Nadu due to the increased activities of LTTE militants and due to the open and active encouragement allegedly given to them by the State Government.

Report on PTI Interview With V.P. Singh

91AS0439A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
1 Dec 90 p 4

[Words in boldface as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 30 November (PTI): The former Prime Minister [PM], Mr V.P. Singh, today warned the Centre against any move to dismiss the Opposition governments in Bihar and Tamil Nadu and criticised the imposition of President's rule in Assam.

Asked during an interview with PTI whether he foresaw imposition of President's Rule in Bihar and Tamil Nadu, Mr Singh said a Union minister, Mr Bhakta Charan Das, had threatened that the Laloo Prasad Yadav government would be dismissed. "The government's intentions are clear. I think they will not dare do it."

On Tamil Nadu, he said the state revenue minister, Mr K. Manoharan, had told him after his meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar, that the Centre had no intention of toppling the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] government. "I hope the PM sticks to his assurances. Otherwise the people of the south will not forgive him and they will give a befitting reply."

He said Central rule in Assam was a wrong move as the duly-elected government had only 40 days to complete its tenure. He refuted charges that the National Front

government had turned a Nelson's eye to the alleged collusion between the AGP [Assam People's Council] government and the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] and said there was no question of any compromise with secessionists.

Asked about the trend of avoiding elections on the grounds of poor law and order, Mr Singh said this situation could not be endorsed. Sometimes there were difficult situations but the attempt should be to normalise the situation.

Kar seva opposed: Mr Singh opposed any move to resume the kar seva for the Ram temple at the shilanyas site in Ayodhya. Replying to questions about the proposed kar seva on 6 December by the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad—World Hindu Council], he said at this juncture the governments at the Centre and Uttar Pradesh and the Congress(I) should clarify whether the shilanyas site was "disputed or not."

Asked about the reported stand taken by some Uttar Pradesh [UP] Congress (I) leaders demanding that the Mulayam Singh Yadav government allow kar seva at the shilanyas site, he said: "We have made it clear that we are against it."

He wondered if the Congress(I) had made its stand clear and disclosed if there was an agreement with the Yadav government on this issue as part of its support to the chief minister.

In an interview to UNI, Mr Singh said, "It seems a strange silence has befallen the UP government since chief minister Mulayam Singh Yadav now depends on Congress(I) support for survival."

Mr Singh also expressed "difficulty" in keeping track of the Congress(I) stand which changed every fortnight. It was not worth discussing it, he felt. Even the court had ordered measurements of the site at the instance of the parties concerned and concluded that the site was disputed.

On the whole, the Janata Dal was clear that there should be an amicable settlement of the problem or the court judgment should be respected, Mr Singh said.

Dal to cooperate: The Janata Dal leader said issues like Punjab, Kashmir, Assam and the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute should be kept above partisan politics. He offered his party's cooperation to the new government in its efforts. He had already pledged cooperation to Mr Chandra Shekhar when he had called on him formally after taking over Prime ministership.

Asked what would be the issues that would dominate the next general elections, Mr Singh said unity of the country, communal harmony, social justice and the issue of changing the iniquitous system.

"We have set the agenda already and nobody can change it now," he said, referring to his government's decisions

in various socio-economic areas, including the implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations.

The former Prime Minister, who had just returned from a tour of some parts of Bihar and Maharashtra, said there was "tremendous" response to his government's decisions on various issues as evidenced in the rallies and public meetings he had addressed.

He dismissed the charge that the decision on the Mandal report was to checkmate Mr Devi Lal and said time and again, from day one of his government, that the stand on reservations was clear. Mr Devi Lal's rally was not anticipated on these occasions, he said.

Asked about the "mistakes" of his government, Mr Singh said he had failed in Punjab where he said he should have held elections within the first three months.

Public life 'much larger': Asked how he felt being out of office, he said public life was continuous process and it were the challenges that motivated people. [sentence as published] "So I feel more enthused—public life is much larger than the government."

On whether he would like to return to the office of Prime Minister, he replied, "Why should I speculate. One has to fulfill one's mission. Mr Singh said the approach of the Janata Dal and the National Front towards national issues like Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Assam and Ram Janmabhoomi would be "above party considerations."

Indira Gandhi: Mr Singh says he even now felt "quite attached" to the late Indira Gandhi. "I had very good personal relations with her and personally she was very affectionate and kind to me," he told UNI.

"I always had the highest personal regard for her—though there was some controversy (about her), she did have plus points in her personality."

'No bargaining': Asked about the chances of his heading a party in case of a split in the Congress(I) as part of realignment of forces, he said it was a hypothetical question and added, "Now our goals are set. You can't do bargaining. You have to develop your dynamics. If you relate it to these issues (bargaining) then all the efforts will be frittered."

He also did not visualise any truck with the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] in future to keep the Congress(I) away or with the Congress(I) as part of "secular" forces coming together to isolate the BJP.

He also said that the possibility of a national government at the Centre had also receded.

'Alarming' Slowdown in Employment Growth

91AS0438A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
29 Nov 90 p 8

[Article by K.K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 November: An official study has revealed an alarming slowdown in the country's employment growth rate from 2.82 percent in 1972-73 to 1.51 percent in 1981 and to a dismally low 0.95 percent in 1987-88, the last year for which figures are available.

With the population continuing to increase every year by more than 2 percent. This shows that unemployment is increasing, rather than falling, despite the massive investments in both the private and public sectors.

Apart from an increase in unemployment, there is also believed to be a rise in what is known as underemployment. This is said to be in existence on a large scale, but cannot be quantified by obvious reasons.

A recent Planning Commission working paper sets the backlog of the unemployed from the Seventh Plan at 28 million. The increase in the labour force in the Eighth Plan is estimated at 37 million. Thus, the total number of those requiring employment in the next five years is a massive 65 million.

Employment on such a scale is virtually impossible to ensure, particularly as the growth rate of employment in agriculture has declined drastically from 2.32 percent in 1972-73 to 1.2 percent in 1983 and even to a lower 0.56 percent in 1988.

This decline goes along with a fall in the percentage of male and female workers engaged in agricultural and allied occupations, with the decline in the size of operational holdings and the number of cultivators dependent on them. At the same time, the number of casual labourers has risen.

Thus, agriculture's capacity to absorb 65 million workers in the next five years is slim. So is the capacity of labour-intensive manufactured exports. This is the suggestion made on the basis that wage goods could be produced by large units and luxury goods by the labour-intensive small units.

The Planning Commission has, in fact, conceded that provision of employment for 65 million people will require the impossible growth rate of 10.5 percent of the economy. Thus, only a small proportion of those joining the workforce in the coming years can expect to be gainfully employed.

Even their prospects are dependent on development of agriculture in non- Green Revolution states, increasing irrigation in these areas, a policy to promote non-agricultural rural activities and a rapid rise in industrialisation.

There is some hope that construction activity will increase because of the need to meet demands of housing

and hopes are that this sector will provide employment to millions. There are plans also to increase roadbuilding by 800,000 km. Thereby providing employment of 24 million person years, but still the overall employment picture remains bleak.

EEC Announces Fresh Grant to India

91AS0471A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 14 Dec 90 p 15

[Article: "Fresh EEC Grant to India"]

[Text] New Delhi, December 13 (UNI): The European Economic Community (EEC) has committed to India a fresh grant worth Rs [rupees] 132.25 crore for the current year for specific projects.

The grant came at the end of three days of official level talks on development cooperation between India and EEC which were held here, an official press release said.

EEC assisted to India has been in the form of grants for implementing projects in the field of agriculture, irrigation and rural development.

EEC has also been extended assistance to the operation flood programme by gifting skimmed milk powder, butter oil and edible oil.

ADB Policy on Assistance to India Reported

91AS0433A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 28 Nov 90 p 7

[Article by Tapan Dasgupta]

[Text] New Delhi, November 27. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has initiated a policy dialogue with the Indian government in order to develop its programme of assistance to India's industries in the infrastructural sector such as power and steel.

An ADB team was in New Delhi recently for discussions with senior officials of the economic ministries and the planning commission. More substantive discussions are slated for January.

In a report submitted to the government, the ADB has called for greater control of macro policies while liberalizing micro-policies which directly affect industrial performance. While budgetary deficit must be reduced, it would not be brought about through a reduction in investment outlays, but through curbs on the government's consumption expenditure, the bank has said.

The report, entitled "India's industrial economy; policies, performance and reforms", calls for a "pragmatic shift" towards planning in an open economy framework from planning for import substitution. The objective of planning should be, firstly, to exploit the natural comparative advantage. The second objective should be to allocate resources in such a way as to create competitive

capacities in a range of selected technologies and products and thereby increase India's share in world trade.

While this should be done in a tariff-based regime, negative rates of production on domestic production should be avoided. Effective rates of protection should be related to stages of processing. This may result in revenue loss and to make up the shortfall, the government may have to levy additional excise duties.

The report noticed that the coverage of sectors for tariff reforms will depend on a number of factors such as the balance of payments situation. An optimal strategy will involve starting trade reforms in intermediate sectors such as steel, plastics etc where reduction in tariffs of about 50 per cent would be required. In other sectors such as power equipment and newsprint, tariffs may have to be raised.

Suggesting revamping of the industrial licensing procedures, the bank says that the existing system should be substituted by a combination of delicensing and a system of competitive bidding by firms seeking licenses in selected sectors. Firms quoting the lowest rate of protection should be awarded the licenses. Alternatively, a level of customs duty could be fixed and firms quoting below this level should be given licenses. Initially, this system should be tried in steel and power, biotechnology, informatics, facsimile machines and micro-electronics.

With regard to micro policies, an interesting suggestion is that the current bias in favor of chemicals and petrochemicals should be given up as it is not in line with India's comparative advantage. The report points out that this sector has been over-protected whereas machine tools, auto-components and power equipment have not received adequate protection.

Other policy reforms suggested by the bank include promotion and diffusion of information technology in the domestic economy, policy measures to produce and supply low cost steel, and efficient capacity expansion in the intermediate goods and services sector.

The industrial policy resolution of 1956 should be reviewed in order to reduce the cost of industries reserved for the public sector and allow the private sector to enter the intermediate sectors, including steel, power, coal, railways, ports and telecommunication.

The report estimates that a structural adjustment in the steel sector would require Rs [rupees] 2,000 crores in foreign exchange to make it internationally competitive in three years.

The bank has also suggested complete delicensing of capital goods industries so that free entry and exit become the norm. As for imports, all capital goods should be put on open general licence. Only a short negative list could be prepared that would require licensing.

With regard to small-scale industries, the bank is of the view that areas for such industries could be preserved

with an export commitment of 50 percent. As for cent per cent export-oriented units, the recommendation is that they should be given greater access to domestic markets in order to be able to operate successfully in international markets.

Infrastructure Faults Said Depressing Economy

91AS0408D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 990 p 14

[Text] New Delhi, 30 December—An extremely difficult balance of payments position, spiralling prices with double-digit inflation and sagging industrial production, confronts the Indian economy as it steps into the next decade. The Gulf crisis having further aggravated the situation.

When Prime Minister V.P. Singh took over the reins in late '89 he spoke of empty coffers.

It is ironical that the expression—so frequently used by Mr Singh to indict his predecessor—is a more accurate description of the financial position now when the year has drawn to a close and Mr Singh has laid down office.

The irony is further compounded as the blame cannot be laid squarely on the door of Mr V.P. Singh. For the economy, as it is, was moving from bad to worse, thanks to the trends built over the past many years. Further, the critical factor that has sent the economy to the precipice was external—the sharp hike in petroleum import bill as a result of the Gulf crisis.

The year 1990 presents a mixed picture. On the plus side, on the agricultural front food production is expected to be in the region of 175 million tonnes—an increase of 5 million tonnes over the last year's high of 170 million tonnes.

The manufacturing sector did considerably well initially. During the period April-August, it registered an over 14 per cent rise compared to the corresponding period last year.

The growth rate, however, slowed down from August and in September touched a low of 8.7 percent. But the overall rate of industrial growth for April-September 1990 still remained at a high of 11.70 percent.

On the fiscal front, the National Front Government in early 1990 made an attempt to reduce the budget deficit from the last year's revised estimate of Rs [rupees] 11,750 crore to Rs 7,200 crore. The Finance Ministry then introduced a 10 percent across-the-board cut on Government expenditure and a brief cut in consumption of petroleum products.

Notwithstanding the strains that were building up on the external account, even the foreign exchange reserves of Rs 5,300 odd crore at the beginning of the calendar year now seem comfortable compared to the situation that developed after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August.

The optimism discernible in the middle of the year, however, dramatically vanished by the year-end with just about every indicator, except agriculture, having nosedived or looking downwards.

The capital market has touched a new low, with prices crashing as investors nervously sold off their shares. The apex organisations of industry—be it FICCI [Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry] or Assocham—in varying degrees are talking of the gloomy scenario ahead and difficulties in sustaining the growth rate. The budgetary deficit is now expected to be around Rs 15,000 crore. Foreign exchange reserves and the country's international credit rating dipped to a low and a loan from the IMF is now inevitable and inflation has crossed the double-digit mark.

No doubt that Gulf crisis was the principal catalyst for this downturn. But, a combination of other factors, too contributed to this trend. These include a deterioration in the performance of the infrastructure sector and the decline in the collection of tax receipts (partly attributed to disturbed situations in parts of the country).

In the first six months of this year, (April-September) exports have grown at the rate of 22.4 percent in rupee terms and imports have grown at the rate of 25 percent. Trade deficit has risen sharply by 35.2 percent.

Imports of petroleum, oil and lubricants in September spurted to Rs 1,353.44 crore and in October to Rs 1,140.29 crore against a monthly average of Rs 530 crore during April-August.

At this rate India's oil import bill for this year would go up to Rs 10,000-12,000 crore from last year's Rs 6,000 crore.

The severity of the impact of the Gulf crisis is clear from the foreign exchange reserves, which stood at Rs 2,750 crore as on 7 December, sufficient to meet only three weeks imports. The occasional, but acute shortage of diesel, furnace oil and other products in parts of the country in the second half of the year, has also had an adverse impact on the manufacturing sector. To provide the rupee resources for more expensive crude oil imports, oil prices had to be raised.

The Chandrashekhar Government's doses of indirect taxes (Rs 1,340 crore) and direct taxes (Rs 810 crore) in the last fortnight of December while logically flowing from the need to check the growing internal fiscal imbalance, will also have other negative side effects—on, for example, the capital market. This, in turn, poses a problem of resource mobilisation for private industry.

CPI-M Leaders Write in Defense of Stalin

91AS0470A Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
22 Dec 90 p 3

[Article: "CPI(M) Comes Out in Defence of Stalin"]

[Text] On the birth anniversary of Stalin, the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] has once again come out with a defence of the former Soviet leader and his policies which have been criticized widely all over the world, even in the USSR. Three senior leaders of the party, Mr. Jyoti Basu, Mr. Sailen Dasgupta and Mr. Anil Biswas, have written long articles in Friday's edition of *GANASHAKTI*, the organ of the West Bengal unit of the CPI(M).

Different meetings were organized in the State by the party during the day to discuss the contributions of Stalin. One such meeting was organized by the Calcutta District Committee of the CPI(M) in south Calcutta. On the other hand, there is no mention about Stalin in the party organ of the CPI during the day.

Interestingly, however, Mr. Jyoti Basu's article mentions about "great successes and serious weaknesses" of Stalin and he calls for a "practical and scientific evaluation" of the "positive and negative roles of Stalin." Mr. Basu, a Politburo member of the CPI(M), does not think that there is any need to revise a resolution adopted by the central committee of his party in July 1956. But, he thinks that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should undertake the task of evaluation of the life and contributions of Stalin.

The 1956 resolution said that there had been an attempt to glorify too much the role of Stalin during his lifetime. "One man cannot be held responsible for all weaknesses and autocratic behaviour." Worshipping of individuals is against the teachings of Marxism—Leninism, according to Mr. Basu once again Stalin is being held responsible for all the problems that the Soviet Union is facing. He mentions that Lenin had warned from his sick bed against making Stalin the general secretary of the CPSU, but no one else had agreed to accept the responsibility at that time.

If only the "negative aspects" of Stalin are highlighted and his "great contributions" especially during the anti-Fascist war, are overlooked then this will misguide the people and "enemies of communism" will use it, Mr. Basu warns. This is precisely what is happening in the USSR now. Stalin is being projected as a "demon" and Socialist ideals are being pushed to the background in the name of criticizing Stalin.

In his article, Mr. Sailen Dasgupta, secretary of the State Committee of the CPI(M), says that glasnost has been used in the USSR not to judge Stalin in the proper historical perspective but to "project him as a demon," to criticize the Socialist past of the USSR and to reject the historical role of the CPSU. Mr. Dasgupta, too, mentions that towards the end of Stalin's regime his negative aspects had become prominent. Stalin's "harmful personality" had become prominent in the party instead of a collective leadership.

But, Mr. Dasgupta thinks that the historical context of the rise of Fascism, imposition of "iron discipline" to save the USSR from attack, concentration of power in

the hands of the leaders and imposition of curbs on democratic rights had led to this situation. Success of the first few Five Year Plans in the USSR and the formation of an industrialized Soviet Russia were achievements of Stalin.

The article by Mr. Anil Biswas is an undisguised attack on the media for "spreading anti-Stalin slander." Two Soviet newspapers, MOSCOW NEWS and NEW TIMES, had deliberately spread the slander that Stalin was responsible for division of Germany, he says. "The Capitalist Press" of London and New York had taken full advantage of this to spread more "anti-Stalin slander." He thinks the USA was responsible for the division of Germany.

Andhra Pradesh: Clash With Extremists Detailed

91AS0405D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English 31 Dec 90 p 7

[Article by R. Akhileshwari; words in boldface as published]

[Text] Hyderabad, 30 December—The perceptible hardening of the Andhra Pradesh Government's stand on the activities of extremists, especially those of the People's War Group [PWG] and its affiliates has brought forth protests. The PWG has called for a south Telengana bundh on Monday to protest the denial of their constitutional rights to organise protest rallies and public meetings against Government policies.

The police prevented three public meetings organised by the front organisations of PWG last week insisting that it release all those kidnapped as insurance against police suppression. The PWG had kidnapped 20-30 persons during the week and had subsequently released them. It went on a destruction spree attacking houses of MLAs, banks and killed a constable.

Bundh: Tomorrow's bundh is to protest the refusal of the police to permit public meetings at Bhongir and Gajwel in Nalgonda and Medak districts and the killing of two persons in the police firing at Atchampeta in Mahbubnagar. Police had opened fire on a crowd of PWG sympathisers to disperse them as they congregated for the meeting. Two persons were killed in the firing.

The PWG has warned that it would hold the legislators of the region solely responsible for any untoward incident that might take place during the bundh.

Meanwhile, two PWG extremists were killed when police opened fire at them on Saturday in Nizamabad district. This is the fourth police encounter in the district that is regarded as a stronghold of the PWG.

According to Mr Raghuvver Prasad Meena, Superintendent of Police of Nizamabad district, Balaiah alias Komranna (30) and Yadagiri (26) were killed by the patrolling police party near Mosra village in the early hours on Saturday.

Both were involved in nine cases of murder, arson and looting. Two single barrel muzzle loading (SBML) guns and a few hand-grenades were found in their possession.

Wordy Duel: Meanwhile, a war of words is taking place between the Director-General of Police and the Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee. The APCLC has charged the DGP with exceeding his brief and making political statements regarding extremists while the DGP has charged APCLC with being a mouthpiece of the PWG.

Objecting to the police setting itself up as the main opposition party to the People's War Group, APCLC said the police disallowed three public meetings of the Rytu Coolie Sangam which was totally unwarranted.

Mr Kannabiran said the State police establishment had always believed itself to be the real Government and had never confined itself to the lawful task of investigating crimes and protecting order by lawful means. It had rather taken a political role of suppressing dissent by lawful and brutal means. The way the police officers were going about making political statements and proclaiming political policy was indicative of a very unhealthy state of affairs.

Not Criminality: The APCLC said the activities of the extremists which it described as "political upsurge" should be treated as a political phenomenon and not as an "outbreak of criminality" since they had been provoked by the failure of the Government in implementing constitutional directives such as land reforms.

The DGP Mr R. Prabhakar Rao dismisses the APCLC's allegations of police torture as "totally devoid of any truth." Questioning the "gumption" of APCLC in justifying the activities of extremists, Mr Rao asked why it did not mention kidnappings. "Even clerks and village servants have not been spared. Recently a woman mandal praja parishad president was put through a harrowing time. On what count can use of innocent persons as pawns be justified?", he asked.

According to the DGP, an analysis of the 149 killings by the PWG during this year showed that the extremists had drifted from the so-called "class struggle years ago." Of the 149 persons murdered 78 belonged to backward classes, 18 to scheduled castes and 16 to the scheduled tribes. None of these killed can be called "exploiters" or "class enemies," he said.

The DGP said the extremists were using the land problem and other issues to mobilise the people to overthrow the lawfully established government through violence.

CPM Charge: Meanwhile, two CPM [Marxist Communist Party] leaders, Mr K. Satyanarayana, CPM State Secretariat member and Mr B. Venkateswar Rao floor leader of the party in Assembly have alleged that an "unwritten agreement was reached before the last

Assembly elections between Dr Channa Reddy, the then APCC [Assam Pradesh, State, Congress Committee] president and PWG."

According to the agreement, the PWG helped the Congress(I) win 38 to 41 seats in its strongholds by tilting the balance in favour of the Congress. These seats were won mostly by slender margins of 4,000-5,000 votes. After winning the elections, Dr Channa Reddy reciprocated by announcing the three-pronged "liberal" policy towards extremists they contended.

Maoist Group Showing Signs of Split

91AS0490A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 29 Dec 90 p 8

[Article by P.K. Chaudhury]

[Text] Patna, 28 December: Contradictions within the CPI-ML [Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist] (Liberation) and its frontal organisations over the continuance of underground struggle and the party's style of functioning have suddenly surfaced, with about 50 disenchanted hard-core cadres finally deciding to form a new mass-based organisation, the Democratic Peoples' Front, next month.

Though the party denies any desertion by its cadres, this decision has caused much concern among the leadership, coming as it did barely a year after the Indian People's Front [IPF] made its impressive debut by sending the first Marxist-Leninist representative to Parliament.

According to party sources, the contradictions initially surfaced during the fourth congress of the CPI-ML in 1988 "but were limited to the central committee members." The differences sharpened during the party's plenum held this July when a senior party ideologue formally resigned.

One of the disenchanted people, associated with the Uttar Pradesh state committee of the party, told this paper: "We have been working continuously underground for the last ten or more years, risking our lives. What have we got in return? We do not have any say in the party, whose style of functioning has of late become more bureaucratic than democratic. And now, a new leadership has been thrust upon us, which neither has an ideological grounding nor underground experience."

Said another underground veteran: "The frustration amongst us is so deep that it can be gauged by the fact that Mr Bhuvaneshwar Prasad alias 'Alakh,' who single-handedly built the party base in the Punpun belt and later in Hazaribagh during the last 18 years, has decided to part company. He was in Buxar jail from 1975, was a central committee member from 1980 to 1988 and at the fourth party congress, had raised the twin issues of the direction of the peasant movement and the CPI-ML's style of functioning."

It is not known whether the CPI-ML and the IPF had taken the disenchantment seriously, but there sure were indications as early as during the last assembly elections.

According to a senior member of the disenchanted group, some of the group members "have formed the Jan Sangharsh Morcha early this year, which is active in Gaya district." The remaining, active in Patna, Nalanda and Jehanabad districts, have formed another organisation, the Jan Ekta Manch.

Primarily, it is these two groups which would soon be coming together under the Democratic People's Front (DPF) banner. A member said that an IPF leader from Bhojpur, Mr Ramashish Gupta, who had contested the Arrah parliamentary seat in 1985, had formed his Jan Ekta Akanksha Manch, "which will also merge with us."

He said that preliminary talks had concluded between them and leaders of various other groups active in central and south Bihar, including the Jan Mukti Andolan of Rohtas, about merger. He claimed that the recently expelled IPF MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly] from Barachatti, Mr Umesh Singh, was also "thinking on the same lines."

A member of the core group of the proposed DPF said the new organisation's constitution "would be finalised shortly" and after announcing the DPF's formation in January, "we hope to organise a state-level demonstration in Patna sometime in March."

Pondicherry: Fall of DMK-led Coalition Outlined

91AS0405A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
28 Dec 90 p 8

[Text] It was just as well that the Pondicherry Chief Minister, Mr D. Ramachandran, tendered the resignation of his Council of Ministers to the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr Har Swarup Singh, before the Assembly met to test its strength on Thursday. What had already sealed the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam [DMK]-led Ministry's fate was Speaker G. Palaniraja's decision to revoke the earlier disqualification of two Janata Dal rebels, Mr P. Rajavelu and Mr A. Deivanayagam, on the curious ground that they belonged to the Scheduled Castes and were entitled to special consideration in the interests of social justice. The Speaker's verdict reversed an equally bemusing decision earlier when he had disqualified them—two of three Janata Dal MLAs [Members of Legislative Assembly] who had intimidated him of their desire to cross the floor and join forces with the Opposition Congress(I)-All India Anna DMK [AIADMK] combine as Janata Dal(S) members. The Janata Dal had four members in the Assembly. However, like the Lieutenant-Governor, who had made a similar blunder by calling for a trial of legislative strength outside the Assembly before retracting in the face of growing censure, the Speaker also changed his mind.

But even with the help of three nominated members who have had their voting powers restored to them by the

Speaker in spite of the subject being under dispute in the Supreme Court, the DMK-led coalition could not have survived a vote of confidence. With the nominated members, the DMK-Janata Dal-CPI [Communist Party of India] configuration has 15 MLAs. On the other side, the Congress (I)-led combine has 18 members, including the Independent MLA and former Agriculture Minister, Mr R. Kamalakannan, who changed sides immediately after the Speaker's disqualification of the two Janata Dal rebels. While neither the Lieutenant-Governor nor the Speaker have done their exalted offices much credit by their recent actions, the original cause of the unsettling of the Ministry was no great conflict over principles either. It was essentially differences over the portfolios allocated to them that had driven the sole surviving Janata Dal MLA and former Revenue Minister, Mr S. Pethaperumal, and the rebel Dal member and former Welfare Minister, Mr P. Rajavelu, to cross swords. But they had done so after the Janata Dal had split at the national level. It is now for the Lieutenant-Governor to salvage the Assembly's reputation by following the proper course before him by inviting the Congress(I)-AIADMK-JD(S) [Janata Dal] combine to form the Ministry.

Kerala: First District Council Elections Viewed

91AS0405B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 p 7

[Article by A.V. Varghese; words in boldface as published]

[Text] Thiruvananthapuram, 30 December—A three-cornered fight between the ruling Left Democratic Front [LDF], the Opposition United Democratic Front [UDF] and the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] is on the cards in Kerala's first ever District Council elections scheduled to be held on 29 January 1991.

Chief Minister E.K. Nayanar announced the poll date in the State Assembly on 21 December. The district councils will come into being on 5 February. Within six months of their formation the Government will set up a Finance Commission to oversee the matter of funding for the development schemes which are to be implemented in a decentralised manner.

The polls should have been held three months ago. But the Government was hesitant given the uncertainty in national politics and its impact on the State. Now finally the LDF seems to be ready to have the people evaluate the performance of its 45-month-old Government, just 13 months before the next Assembly elections.

Nominations: The process of filing of nominations begins on 30 December. There are 474 seats, spread over 14 districts to be fought over. Each district has been divided into divisions ranging from 20 to 40. Thiruvananthapuram, Kollam and Ernakulam, for instance, have 40 divisions (seats) each. Wynad has just 20 and Pathanamthitta 29. There are reserved seats for Harijans and 30 percent of the seats are reserved for women.

The LDF and UDF have already had several rounds of discussions on seat allocations. Things have been somewhat easier for the LDF which had been preparing for the polls months earlier. The LDF partners—CPM [Marxist Communist Party], CPI [Communist Party of India], RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party], Janata Dal and Congress(S)—have decided that the basic guideline for seat allocation among themselves will be the political complexion of the district division itself. The LDF State Committee has given the district units adequate leeway to select candidates keeping in mind the local context and issues. The CPM and CPI have, however, not exactly been seeing eye to eye in some divisions of districts like Kollam, Thrissur and Palakkad. The Janata Dal and RSP also resent the big brotherly attitude of the CPM. But by and large the LDF presents a cohesive image.

Disarray: The UDF presents a picture of disarray as usual. UDF Convener Mr K. Sankaranarayanan asserts that the Front will pull together for electoral gain. But it is an open secret that the Indian Union Muslim League [IUM] the Kerala Congress (Mani) [KC(M)] and the National Democratic Party (of the Nairs) are all sore with the Congress(I) for various reasons. The UDF wants to take an open anti-Mandal stand. The IUML backs the Mandal report wholeheartedly. It is also suspicious of the congress(I) intentions regarding the masjid-mandir controversy. The KC(M) is angry with the Congress(I) which sabotaged its chances of a berth in the Chandra Shekhar Cabinet. The finalisation of UDF candidates in the coming week should inevitably result in rebels surfacing and even cross-voting in several divisions if the allies want to teach the Congress(I) a lesson. But there are those in the UDF who feel that the psychological advantage the Front gained in the last Lok Sabha poll when it won 17 of 20 seats should not be lost through infighting.

The LDF wants to cash in on and accentuate the divisions in the UDF fold. CPM General Secretary Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad has been prompting the IUML and KC(M) to quit the UDF. He has told the IUML that it should consider fighting the polls alone because it is unassailable in many parts of the northern districts, especially Malappuram. The League has not picked up the bait but the Congress(I) is worried. Mr Namboodiripad has also cleverly proposed to the congress(I) that it should link up with the LDF-V.P. Singh combine to help the backward classes, build secularism and tackle developmental problems in the spirit of co-operation. The only other option for the Congress(I) would be to favour the BJP, he warned.

Big Way: The BJP itself has decided to contest the polls independently and in a big way. In the last Panchayat elections, the BJP made a small but significant dent in some areas. The party hopes to do better this time because it thinks that the masjid-mandir controversy has won it grassroot support. In the 1989 Lok Sabha polls the BJP had put its weight behind the UDF ensuring its victory in several constituencies. The LDF is expecting such an informal BJP-Congress(I) tie-up once again. And

if the BJP feels that the LDF stands to gain much in the district polls, its help for the UDF would surely be forthcoming.

The LDF is also playing on the Muslims' feeling of insecurity by driving home the point that the Congress(I) is increasingly tilting towards the Hindu chauvinists. Mr V.P. Singh's campaign into the Muslim heartland recently also had an impact on the base of the IUML. The Muslims are confused because the IUML has suddenly become unable to provide it with a solid reasoning.

Meanwhile, Mr Chakeeri Ahmedkutty, a former Speaker and Education Minister is understood to be keen on joining the Janata Dal which has already set up some 50 units in the Muslim heartland with help from IUML and Congress(I) defectors. In the wings there are theologian-leaders like Mr Kanthapuram Aboobacker Musaliar waiting to help the LDF which is being reckoned as a better protector of minorities than a vacillating Congress(I).

Mandal Card: The LDF is playing the Mandal card unashamedly too. It is banking on the support of the recently-created pro-reservation forum consisting of more than 50 backward classes organisations including the Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalaka Yogam, the Latin Catholics Association, the Pulaya Mahasabha and many Muslim groups. But the leaders of the movement—Mr K.K. Viswanathan and Mr M.K. Raghavan, former Congressmen—are still keeping both fronts guessing about its loyalties. But going by the reception it accorded Mr V.P. Singh in Kochi recently, the LDF should get the majority of backward votes.

Regarding the substantial Christian vote, the LDF hopes to offset the clout of the KC(M) in Central Travancore by going in for its "limited" alliance with the rival Kerala Congress (Joseph). The Congress(I)-led UDF hopes to meet the LDF onslaught by sidelining the Mandal and masjidmandir issues and focussing instead on the "misrule of the LDF." The UDF wants to highlight the inaction of the LDF on several fronts and push to the fore local issues. It is a valid approach but its effectiveness will depend on Mr K. Karunakaran's and Mr Antony's skill in persuading the allies to plug the chinks in the UDF armour. The Congress(I) is also at a disadvantage because it backs the Chandra Shekhar Government which has taken decisions affecting the State like a hike in the price of rice and import of oil. The interplay of national and local issues will have to be handled skillfully by both fronts.

The campaign is yet to catch up and it is as yet too early to assess the mood of the electorate. But these elections will be doubly interesting for their results could indicate the shape of Kerala politics to come.

ASSAM: Volatile Tribal Insurgency Outlined

91AS0407A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 p 8

[Article by Utpal Bordoloi; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Guwahati: The year 1990 was undoubtedly the year of the ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] in Assam, while in the rest of the volatile North-eastern region tribal insurgents continued to make their presence felt even as political leaders kept on changing allegiances, causing three changes of Government, twice in Nagaland and once in Meghalaya.

The year began on a hopeful note in Assam when former Prime Minister V.P. Singh announced a package of economic measures for the long-neglected State on 2 January. These included a 3-million tonne capacity oil refinery promised under the 1985 Assam Accord, Rs [rupees] 67 crore to revive a defunct paper mill and a provisional increase of Rs 100 per tonne in oil royalty.

But the year ended with no sign of concrete action on either the refinery or the paper mill. This gave strength to the impression—articulated during Mr Singh's visit that the Centre has always been "long on promises to Assam but short on delivery."

It was mainly the perception that the history of relations between Assam and New Delhi is little more than a record of broken promises which fuelled popular support for the banned secessionist organisation, the United Liberation Front of Assam, which pushed the State to the brink of anarchy during the year and culminated in the imposition of President's rule on the night of 27-28 November and a crackdown on the militants.

The ULFA came into direct confrontation with the Hindi-speaking business community soon after Mr Singh's visit. It threatened 'strong measures' against the businessmen for calling trade bundhs against its activities, particularly extortion, while the traders called for a ban on the secessionist organisation.

Clashes between the traders and local youths backed by the ULFA broke out in Jorhat on 15 January and spread to other parts of the State, culminating in the 20 January assassination in Guwahati of the Kamrup Chambers of Commerce President Mr Shankar Birmiwai.

ULFA's cadres assassinated Mr Surender Paul, Chairman of the Calcutta-based Apeejay group and brother of NRI [Nonresident Indian] businessman Swraj Paul, at Kharjan in Dibrugarh District for his allegedly 'anti-Assamese' employment policies.

At a meeting, held in a Dibrugarh District tea estate on 11 June, ULFA leaders asked the companies to shift their head offices to inside Assam within the year, and also to pay ULFA Rs 5 lakh for each garden they operated. The demands triggered panic and some companies quietly met the extortion, while others resisted.

A Flop

The crackdown on ULFA, launched by the army under the codename "Operation Bajrang" simultaneously with the imposition of President's rule, turned out to be a flop in terms of numbers of hard-core militants arrested or significant quantities of sophisticated weapons recovered. The ULFA's frontline leaders and the estimated 500 to 600 hard-core militants had simply melted away alerted by a tip off.

If ULFA was the biggest source of unrest in Assam, the Bodoland extremists also showed that they had not lost their teeth. In April, Bodo militants blew up rail tracks and blasted a strategic road bridge over the Manas river, disrupting traffic for months on National Highway 31, the lifeline of the North-eastern region. Scores of people were killed in the bombing offensive and on attacks on policemen and non-Bodo civilians.

The leadership of the All-Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) spearheading the agitation, meantime passed from the moderates to the hardliners following the death on 1 May of its President, Mr Upendra Nath Brahma, following a heart attack in Bombay and the subsequent election of Mr Sansumma Khungur Bwiswumutari as his successor.

Political instability continued to plague three States in the region—Nagaland, Meghalaya and Manipur.

In Nagaland, Mr S.C. Jamir, who headed the Congress(I) Ministry formed after the January 1989 Assembly elections, had to bow out in May after 12 of his party legislators deserted him and joined hands with Mr K.L. Chishi of the Nagaland People's Council (NPC). Mr Chishi's United Legislature Front (ULF) Government however lasted only 35 days and was replaced on 19 June by a joint legislature party (JLP) Ministry headed by Mr Vamuzo Phesao, also of the NPC.

In Meghalaya, the 25-month-old Congress(I) led United Meghalaya Parliamentary Forum (UMPF) Government led by Mr Purno A. Sangma fell on 26 March when the Chief Minister resigned rather than face a no-confidence motion.

Mr B.B. Lyngdoh and six of his supporters split the Hill Peoples' Union (HPU) and joined hands with the Congress(I).

The situation changed once more with the installation of the Congress(I)-backed Chandra Sekhar Government at New Delhi on 7 November, which again unleashed moves to unseat Mr Lyngdoh and pave the return for yet another Congress(I)-led coalition headed by Mr Purno Sangma.

In Manipur, continuing instability has plagued the six-party United Front coalition headed by Raj Kumar Ranbir Singh which came to power on 22 February after an unprecedented, violence-scarred election which saw the burning down of the Deputy Commissioner's office in the State capital.

Raids

Both in Manipur and Nagaland, guerillas of the outlawed National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN), continued to mount hit and run raids on the security forces throughout the year, killing a number of jawans. But the NSCN guerillas were also feeling the pressure of the security forces' operations.

In Tripura, the Congress(I)-Tripura Upajati Juva Samity (TUJS) combine's long struggle to capture the tribal areas Autonomous District Council came to a successful conclusion in the 8 July elections which were marked by extensive violence. But the polls, which saw the ouster of the CPM [Marxist Communist Party] and its ally, the Tripura Hill Peoples' Party, which had controlled the District Council since 1982, had the potential to magnify the inherent contradictions between the TUJS and the Congress(I): the former represents the indigenous Tripuri tribals and the latter the Bengali settlers who have been encroaching on tribal lands since partition.

In Mizoram, the first half of the year saw bloodshed and violence including killings, kidnappings, arson, bank dacoities and extortion by militants of the Hamar Peoples' Convention [HPC] demanding a separate autonomous district council for the Hamar tribe in the north-eastern corner of the State. Talks between the State Government and the HPC which began in the middle of the year broke down in October and the HPC went on the offensive again in November. But otherwise, a Christian religious revival campaign at the beginning of the year helped in reducing tensions and contributed to a decrease in crimes in the Christian-majority State.

Arunachal Pradesh remained the quietest State in the region during the year, which saw the Congress(I) entering its second, unbroken decade in power under the leadership of Chief Minister Gegong Apang.

Two legendary rebel leaders died during the year under review, both in London, and with them ended an era in the political history of the North-east.

Mr Angami Zapu Phizo, President of the Naga National Council, whose call for Naga independence unleashed insurgency in the region in 1955, died in exile at his home in Bromley, Kent in England, on 30 April. Mr Laldenga, the charismatic Mizo National Front (MNF) leader, who followed in Mr Phizo's footsteps and fought the Indian Army for 20 years before signing a peace accord with the Union Government in June 1986, died of lung cancer on 7 July.

Tamil Nadu: Days of DMK Government Seem Numbered

91AS0407B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 pp Supplement p 7

[Article by S. Murari]

[Text] When the V.P. Singh Government was voted out on 7 November, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi hailed the Prime Minister as a martyr to Mandal and mandir and said, "It is better to die like a (jungle) cat than live like a rat."

Mr Karunanidhi could not have chosen a more ill-suited expression for he himself is now in the position of a man who has caught the tiger by the tail and is trembling like an aspen before a Prime Minister who threatens to dismiss him if he does not stop patronising the Tigers.

The year that was revealed the many faces of Mr Karunanidhi. If he was restrained in 1989, it was because Mr Rajiv Gandhi was at the helm at the Centre. At one stage during that year, Mr Karunanidhi even went to the extent of saying that the Lanka problem had gone out of his hands. The other side of Mr Karunanidhi came out during the 11 months of Mr V.P. Singh's rule this year.

Mr Karunanidhi's pro-LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] bias was evident in the negotiations he conducted with all the Sri Lankan Tamil groups, at the behest of the V.P. Singh Government, in December last year to explore the possibility of forging an agreement which could pave the way for the smooth return of the Indian Peace-Keeping Force from the island. The EPRLF [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front], which was then ruling the North-eastern province, offered to accommodate the LTTE in the Provincial Council, but Mr Karunanidhi pressed the Chief Minister, Mr Varatharaja Perumal to step down so that the council could be dissolved and fresh elections held.

When Mr Perumal refused to oblige, Mr Karunanidhi turned hostile towards the non-LTTE groups and rolled out the red carpet for the Tigers. The speed with which the State police seized a huge cache of arms belonging to the ENDLF [Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front] Dargavalasai village in Ramanathapuram district has not been equalled since. This has to be contrasted with the failure of the police to get at the Tigers who shot their way through a police checkpoint at Ramanathapuram in February, killing a policeman and bystander, and massacred EPRLF leader K. Pathamanabha and 15 others in a residential flat in Madras in May.

As Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar put it, Madras was dictating to New Delhi when Mr V.P. Singh was in power.

When the Opposition repeatedly complained in the first quarter of this year about the increasing infiltration of LTTE men into Tamil Nadu, Mr Karunanidhi asked, "Why should they come here and live in hiding when they have become de facto monarchs of Tamil Eelam?"

The same Mr Karunanidhi now sees a Tiger in every bush, or so he wants the Centre to believe. In the last one month, nearly 1,000 militants have been rounded up and detained in special camps. That only about 100 of them belong to the LTTE, only goes to prove that the Tigers do

not come to the State, according to him. When complaints about large-scale smuggling of diesel and other essentials from Tamil Nadu to Sri Lanka became louder and louder, Mr Karunanidhi first denied it and then put the blame on the navy and the coast guard until Admiral Ramdas came out with the disclosure that over 100 suspected militants, apprehended at sea over a period of one month and handed over to the State authorities, had all been released.

Mr Chandra Shekhar, who has been blowing hot and cold ever since he equated the situation in Tamil Nadu with Assam, has now come out with a categorical assurance that the Centre has no intention of imposing President's rule in the State. But developments in neighbouring Pondicherry, where the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam]-led coalition Government has fallen following a split in the Janata Dal encouraged by the Opposition Janata Dal(S) and the Congress(I) should give Mr Karunanidhi cause for worry.

The brief reign of the National Front Government, in which the DMK was represented by Mr Karunanidhi's nephew "Murasoli" Maran, saw the Chief Minister wield the stick in a big way. He slapped a fraud case on TNCC(I) [Tamil Nadu Congress-I Committee] chief K. Ramamurthi in March on the eve of the Congress (I)'s agitation demanding that K. Kamaraj's name be retained for the Maraimalai Nagar railway station in suburban Madras. Thousands of agitators were arrested for picketing railway stations and trains and remanded to 15 days judicial custody.

When the Congress(I) launched an agitation against the Government's "cheap liquor" policy a couple of months ago by picketing arrack shops, even old Gandhians were picked up and put in jail.

The AIADMK [All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] split in July after Ms Jayalalitha expelled senior leaders like Mr S. Thirunavukkarasu, Mr K.K.S.S.R. Ramachandran and Mr S.D. Ugam Chand. The rebels raided the party headquarters and the two groups came to blows. The police then moved in and sealed the office. Ms Jayalalitha was dispossessed of the party headquarters building which found its way into Mr Thirunavukkarasu's custody. The Supreme Court intervened early this month and appointed Ms Jayalalitha as the receiver until the disposal of the case relating to the disputed property.

Mr Karunanidhi, in September, organised a massive rally to felicitate Mr V.P. Singh for his "bold and historic decision" to implement the Mandal Commission report. Yet, when the Pattali Makkal Katchi of the backward Vanniyar community called for a bundh in October to protest against the stay on the Mandal report by the Supreme Court, he upstaged it by calling for another bundh.

On the positive side, Mr Karunanidhi's good equations with Mr V.P. Singh brought some benefits to the State. For example, the vexed Cauvery waters dispute with

Karnataka has now been referred to a tribunal. Immediately after the National Front assumed office, Mr Karunanidhi was able to get the monthly quota of rice released from the Central pool raised to 75,000 tonnes. Towards the end of its term, the V.P. Singh Government even cleared the Rs [rupees] 1,300-crore aromatic project. Unfortunately, the Chandra Shekhar Government has decided to review this decision along with other decisions taken by the previous regime after the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] withdrew its support on 22 October.

If Mr Karunanidhi treated the opposition with contempt during the most part of this year, it was not merely because he had a friend in Mr V.P. Singh but also because Ms Jayalalitha could not measure up to him despite her popular support. Ms Jayalalitha has not been attending assembly since she provoked violence and was at the receiving end of it in March last year. She has not been in the public eye for almost the whole of this year.

The dethroning of the Congress(I) at the Centre in December last year, the AIADMK's poor showing in the Pondicherry Assembly elections in February and her road accident around the same time all combined to push her into a long spell of hibernation. After purging the party of the so-called rebels, she visited the party headquarters once to signal to the rank and file that she was as fit as a fiddle. When the office was sealed, she observed a fast for a few days in her house.

She came out again in October when Mr Rajiv Gandhi unveiled a statue of MGR [M. G. Ramachandran] in the city in October. Thousands of partymen, supporters and followers poured into the city to pledge their loyalty to Ms Jayalalitha. After proving her strength, Ms Jayalalitha retreated to Hyderabad even as the tumultuous events in Delhi culminated in the fall of the National Front Government.

Now that the days of the DMK Government seem to be numbered, Ms Jayalalitha is back in active politics. She has since met the President and the State Governor and submitted a memorandum on the law and order situation in the State as well as the Prime Minister. Strangely, she has not publicly reiterated her old demand of dismissing the DMK government.

The Congress(I) has been affected by the cold war between the legislature and organisational wings led by Mr G.K. Moopanar and Mr K. Ramamurthi. Mr Moopanar being a low-profile man who has natural empathy for Mr Karunanidhi, it has been left entirely to Mr Ramamurthi to keep up pressure on the State Government.

Mr Karunanidhi, meanwhile, resorted to a series of populist measures like waiver of farmers' loan amounting to Rs 500 crore, free supply of electricity to all agricultural pumpsets, and reduction in the issue price of rice to strengthen his base. Now that the Samad faction of the IUML [Indian Union Muslim League] has

also distanced itself from the Congress(I) and is supporting Mr V.P. Singh, Mr Karunanidhi can count on the support of a substantial section of the Muslims.

Kashmir Militants Reported Losing Ground

91AS0495A Madras THE HINDU in English
26 Dec '90 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 25—Despite the brutal killing of the 88-year-old veteran leader, Maulana Mohammed Sayeed Masoodi, on the outskirts of Srinagar on December 13 and the observance of a complete hartal on December 18 and 19, reports from the Kashmir Valley indicate that the militant movement is definitely losing its momentum and the political vacuum is being increasingly felt. These two negative signals, apart from all others, point to a process of rethinking and introspection in the terrorist-ridden Valley.

The Maulana's murder has undoubtedly been a setback to democratic forces. Not that he was expected to do much at this stage of his life but his mere presence on the social and political scene of Kashmir did connote that the Valley was not still without people with reason.

Third attempt: While analysing his role one cannot escape a feeling that much may not have been done to save his life. Though it is a known fact that because of his status and prestige, he was averse to any kind of security cover. It is still being pointed out that the role of the police did not end with this. This was the third attempt on his life during the last three or four months and certainly some arrangements could have been evolved to provide an invisible security cover to him. This, apparently was not done.

Moreover, the present leadership at the Centre does not appear to have been fully aware of the role of the Maulana in the State's accession to India and his subsequent contribution to the national cause. Whether it was the conversion of the Muslim Conference into the National Conference in 1938, the turbulent times of the 1947 and the State's integration with India, or the retrieval of Indian presence in the grim days of January 1964, the Maulana emerges taller than many others. No doubt, Sheikh Mohamed Abdullah, in the later years of his life, did entertain certain suspicions about him, but the larger national interest demanded that he should not have been forsaken so early.

Charge sheet: Interestingly the pro-Pakistan militant organisation, which has claimed responsibility for his killing, has come out with a charge sheet against him which it said necessitated his murder. These charges, which mysteriously appear to have been ignored by the national Press are:

- 1) Maulana was responsible for conversion of the Muslim Conference into the National Conference in 1938;
- 2) He was responsible for misleading the 'raiders' who came from Pakistan in 1949 to capture Kashmir;

- 3) Failure of the 1953 events;
- 4) Imposition of Indian constitution, foiling the attempt to capture Radio Kashmir in 1965, and
- 5) Sabotaging the 'Muslim freedom movement' which surfaced in 1964 following the disappearance of the holy relic (of Prophet Mohammed).

Thus it is clear, it is being pointed out that while the elements in Pakistan inspiring and engineering the present insurgency in Kashmir are keeping count of their men and material since 1947, those in this country in charge of the affairs in Kashmir are not even able to ensure the survival of patriotic forces, let alone benefit by their experience and advice.

Surprisingly, even the Maulana's funeral seems to have been underplayed not only by the Srinagar press, which is understandable, but also by the national media. It was given out that about 300 persons attended the burnial at Ganderbal. After four days, it was a Srinagar daily which reported that a deputation of the people of Ganderbal met the editor of the paper and said that the report in the newspaper that the Maulana's funeral was attended by 300 persons was incorrect. They said about 4,000 persons were present and the Imam of the local mosque conducted the prayers. When Mr. Nazir Masoodi, the younger brother of the late Maulana, and a former ex-chief Conservator of Forests told the gathering that the Maulana's family should be informed if he (the Maulana) owed anything to anyone, the mourners broke into tears. That speaks of the situation in the Valley, underneath the cover of gun-fire.

Increasing realisation: Another new aspect of the Kashmir situation is the increasing realisation among militant organisations that the people are turning against them. These days the statements of the militant outfits are full of sentences like "the spontaneous hartel in the city over the arrest of the deputy commander of Students Liberation Front proves that the people are not against us (militants) and they back militancy. These statements are widely and prominently covered by the Srinagar newspapers.

The militant organisations now seem to suspect even their own men. In a statement on December 14, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front warned the people that certain elements arrested months ago have been brain-washed and are being released by the authorities even without any request. Such people need be kept under watch, the statement said.

In the fluid situation that pervades the sub-continent today, even Pakistan seems to be getting exposed. As reported, the Valley observed a total branch on December 18 and 19 on account of the exclusion of Kashmir representatives from the Foreign Secretaries conference between India and Pakistan at Lahore. While the media everywhere reported the actual reason for the two-day hartal, the Pakistan TV and Radio said in bulletins on December 17 that the people in the Valley observed hartal against "Indian excesses."

While the situation is surely moving towards a climax in the Valley, the policy-makers in Delhi seem to be caught in a bind. Either they are unaware of the developing situation and the need of the people, or deliberately want to prolong the agony of the people. Otherwise why should there be a spate of transfers and reshuffle in the administration when things are settling down?

Union Government Secretaries Reshuffled

91AS0474A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
18 Dec 90 p 5

[Article: "15 Central Secretaries Shifted, KPS Gill Moved to CRPF"]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 17 (PTI): In yet another major overhaul of the bureaucracy, 15 secretaries to the Union government were reshuffled and Mr. K.P.S. Gill, director-general of the Punjab police, shifted to the CRPF [Central Reserve Police Force].

Mr. Suresh Mathur, secretary, ministry of information and broadcasting, has been made secretary, industrial development, in place of Mr. A. N. Verma, who moved over as member secretary of the Planning Commission.

Mr. Mahesh Prasad, presently secretary, environment and forests, will be the new secretary of information and broadcasting.

Mr. R. Rajamani, director-general, Council for the Advancement of People's Action and Rural Technology (Capart) has taken over as secretary, environment and forests.

Mr. R. K. Rath, secretary, department of food, has been transferred as director-general, Capart.

Mr. P. Tripathi, presently secretary, civil supplies, becomes food secretary in place of Mr. Rath. The present director-general of tourism, Mr. B. K. Goswami, has been posted as secretary, civil supplies, in place of Mr. Tripathi.

Mr. M. Godbole, presently secretary, ministry of petroleum and natural gas, has been made secretary, ministry of food processing industry, in place of Mr. Ashok Chandra. Mr. Chandra will be the new secretary, ministry of petroleum and natural gas.

Mr. K. Ardhanareeswaran, special secretary, commerce, becomes secretary, ministry of textiles, in place of Mr. R. K. Dhar. Mr. Dhar's new posting is yet to be announced, an official spokesman said.

Mr. Sovan Kanungo, additional secretary, department of economic affairs, becomes special secretary in the ministry of commerce in place of Mr. Ardhanareeswaran.

Mr. J. C. Lynn, presently establishment officer in the department of personnel has been made chairman of the

Food Corporation of India [FCI]. He will have the rank of secretary. The post of FCI chairman was lying vacant for some time.

Mr. J. M. Quereshi, IPS [Indian Police Service?], advisor to the government of Jammu and Kashmir, becomes secretary in the ministry of welfare in place of Mr. P. S. Krishnan, who is superannuating at the end of this month.

Mr. R. K. Dang, who belongs to the Indian Railway Transportation Service [IRTS], at present additional secretary in the ministry of programme implementation, becomes secretary, department of mines in place of Mr. P. K. Lahiri, who has taken over as secretary, revenue.

Mrs. Usha Ohra, officer on special duty with the National Commission of Women, becomes special secretary in the ministry of programme implementation.

Mr. Moosa Raja, chairman and managing director of the Trade Fair Authority of India has been given the rank of secretary in the same post.

Mr. K.P.S. Gill, now director-general, Punjab Police, has been appointed director-general of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF).

Mr. P. S. Bhinder, who was officiating as director-general, CRPF, has been appointed director-general of the Central Industrial Security Force.

Mr. G. S. Mander, present director-general, CISF [Central Industrial Security Force], is likely to be appointed special secretary in the ministry of home affairs, according to official sources.

Mr. R. K. Vadhera, who is now with the National Security Guards (NSG) has been appointed additional director-general of CRPF.

Karnataka: Dismal Past, Hopeless Future Viewed

91AS0405E Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 p 8

[Article by V.N. Subba Rao; words in italics as published]

[Text] Karnataka isn't certainly ringing out the old year on a cheery note and ringing in the new year in a spirit of overt optimism.

The passing year hasn't been a happy one at all for the State, thanks to the fact that it has witnessed the fall of a Government under depressing circumstances and the successor Government is yet to find its feet.

Arm-Twisting

The Veerendra Patil Government did not bow out of office on merits, nor were the circumstances under which it was nosed out edifying. Mr Patil certainly did not fulfil the high expectations which his sudden ascent to office had aroused, but that was certainly not the way for him

to go. It was a classic case of arm-twisting by the Congress(I) high command and the consequences haven't been too good for the party itself.

The glaringly engineered fall of Mr Veerendra Patil, followed by that of Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister M. Channa Reddy almost under similar circumstances and the recent rumblings one is hearing from the Sharad Pawar camp in Maharashtra quite predictably fall into a predicted pattern since none of these three leaders, who also happened to be the only ones to hold the Congress(I) banner aloft in their respective States, was ever comfortable with the party high-ups.

Speaking of Karnataka, the alternative to Mr Veerendra Patil hasn't so far shown any signs of breaking fresh ground in a manner which can conclusively counter the deleterious effects of the earlier Government's ouster. The Bangarappa Government has embroiled itself in too many controversies for its own comfort, controversies which could have easily been avoided with a little bit more of application on the part of the leadership.

Within its brief two-month long stay at the crease, the Government has faced rough weather a little too often, many a time because of its own making. Some of its omissions and commissions haven't helped either its own image or that of the Congress(I) itself.

As the old year drew to a close, too many chinks were becoming visible in Mr Bangarappa's armour. The lambasting he got from a powerful section of the State MPs [Members of Parliament] at a get-together with them couldn't have been a more unpalatable experience to him, and the fact that some of the MPs who crossed swords with him on that day are considered very close to the high command should have only compounded his worries.

This unpleasant experience was followed by a *diktat* to him from the high command to shelve the much-touted Zilla Parishads and Mandal Panchayats Amendment Bill and this again showed the in-built vulnerability of his dispensation. This was clearly a self-imposed torture since the manner in which Mr Bangarappa let his maverick colleague, Mr Basavalingappa, handle the sensitive issue was clearly self-defeating.

And all this happened in the midst of growing restlessness among the various caste groups, with all of them going to the unprecedented extent of holding their own meetings and brazenly demanding their pound of flesh.

That these developments came on top of an ongoing controversy about the queer reshuffle of officers at the highest levels and the raucous controversy generated by the expansion of the Ministry itself showed how badly caught the Government is in its own mesh.

The situation clearly calls for a lot of spring cleaning if the Congress(I) image is to be retrieved to any appreciable extent.

No Different

The KPCC(I) [expansion unknown] image hasn't been any different, with the long-promised machinery to ensure a proper co-ordination between the organisational and legislature wings of the party still remaining a chimera and with the State President of the party, Mr Oscar Fernandes, continuing to show a lack of capacity to look beyond certain restrictions he has imposed on himself because of his rather pathetic loyalty to the party supremo, Mr Rajiv Gandhi.

In the initial stages, it did look as if Mr Fernandes and Mr Bangarappa would pull together, but subsequent events have belied this hope.

The manner in which the Bangarappa-Basavalingappa combine has chosen to play the caste card and has tried to distance itself from the major communities and even some powerful sections of the backward classes has thrown up enough hints that caste will play a much greater role in the future political scenario of this State than before.

Casteism seems to be striking deeper roots even if it be due to an instinct for self-preservation. There was absolutely no need to spawn this counter-movement and this contingency could well have been avoided if only Mr Bangarappa was more reasonable when he expanded the Ministry recently.

Hazy Scene

It is interesting to take a quick look at the state of the other parties in Karnataka at the dawn of the new year. Here again it is a hazy scene, with even the errant Congress(I) seeming to be faring better than the other parties. The Janata Dal is in a real bad shape and seems to have done little to live down its terrible embarrassment of being thrown out of office over a year ago. There doesn't even seem to be any desire to restructure itself on pragmatic lines.

The only substantial gain the Janata Dal has been able to register is in the consolidation of its Lingayat vote bank, not by its own efforts but by the default of the Congress(I) supremo, Mr Gandhi, who was made a deep incision in the Lingayat psyche by unceremonious throwing out Mr Veerendra Patil. The party managed to save its honour by the skin of its teeth in the recent Tikota by-election, which clearly showed a swing in the hard-core Lingayat vote away from the Congress(I) and into the waiting hands of the Janata Dal.

Mr J.H. Patel has clearly not been able to impart to the demoralised party any touch of dynamism, while the working President of the party, Dr Jeevaraj Alva, himself seems to be showing every sign of discomfort, thanks to his maladjustment with the present leadership. The deputy leader of the party in the Assembly, Mr P.G.R. Sindhia, has fuelled enough speculation about his future moves *vis-a-vis* his political mentor, Mr Chandra Shekhar, to be of any comfort to his party colleagues.

The younger elements in the party appear to be getting cheesed off with the older ones who have run the party aground, and seem to be desperately leaning on the weakened shoulders of Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, thus creating an irony of a person who has his own image and credibility problems being egged on to bail out the party at this critical juncture.

The first month of the new year might witness the merger of the Janata Dal(S) and the Janata Party, which has already been reduced to a regional outfit, though the impact of this otherwise inevitable merger on the wider national scene would naturally depend on the durability of the minority Janata Dal(S) Government in the Centre itself.

With the exact nature of the Congress(I)-Janata Dal(S) relationship at the Centre itself still nebulous, the likely repercussions of this merger on the Karnataka scene cannot be projected properly at this stage. The merged party can either be a helpful ally of the Congress(I) if the relationship between Mr Shekhar and Mr Gandhi continues to be salutary or it can emerge as a third force with doubtful legitimacy if the two leaders do not continue to jell.

If the merged version of the Janata Party clicks at all, and if the New Delhi dispensation remains intact for some more time, it might even lead to some kind of a working arrangement between the Congress(I) and the merged party, causing a little more worry to the already beleaguered Janata Dal.

No Effect

The Raitha Sangha seems to be strengthening its wings somewhat, while the Communist parties remain as *jejeune* as ever. As for the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], the State unit will only have to bask in the reflected glory of the Ram Janmabhoomi extravaganza, since not even the party's new-found concern for the farmers, expressed in the form of repeated showdowns on the floor of the legislature, has enabled it to make much of a dent in the rural areas.

In sum, not a too reassuring scenario, with virtually every party at the crossroads and waiting for some developments other than on the basis of merit to improve its own prospects.

A clear case for them to pull up their socks, but the responsibility to do so clearly vests more in the Congress(I) for the simple reason that it is now in the saddle and seems a stayer despite all the irritations it has caused during its slightly more than one year in office.

Shekhar-Gandhi Relationship Said Crucially Important

91AS0374A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA in Bengali 19 Dec 90 p 6

[Article by Shivdas Banarjee: "The National Political Future Stands Upon the Relationship Between Rajiv and Chandra Shekhar"]

[Text] The communal situation [strife between the Hindu and Muslim communities] is gradually deteriorating in different parts of the country. In Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh things are so bad that it seems law and order will break down any moment. An incident in Aligarh struck like lightning. There police constables refused to serve under a Scheduled Tribe senior police superintendent claiming the superintendent was sympathetic toward Muslims. Other complaints such as this have been heard. In states affected by communal unrest, police partisanship is bound to create fear and anger among the minority [Muslims].

In this situation the political parties committed to secularism cannot call for elections, especially when Hindu communalists have unequivocally announced that they are determined to build the temple at the controversial Ayodhya site. Some people in Delhi think that an election right at this moment can calm communal tensions and create a [healthy] political atmosphere. That could also give the queer Delhi government a popular base.

The BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] says secularism is being used to pamper the minority community at the expense of the majority [Hindu] interest. Now the Congress party again has adopted a dangerous line by giving secularism a new definition. This line is supported by RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] leader Nanaji Deshmukh and called for the creation of a four-member committee that would include Noni Palkiwala, Giri Lal Jain, and Arif Mohammad Khan.

We should know when Chandra Shekhar, Rajiv Gandhi, V. P. Singh, and Jyoti Basu will agree to rise above their political interests and look into the interest of the scared and confused people. Until that happens, Shekhar should suppress the nefarious riot-mongers with measures befitting a war situation. The leftists have become somewhat active in the Hindi Belt. But then they have been isolated in Uttar Pradesh after their break with Mulayam Singh [Yadav]. Others who should have tried to do something about the situation have found it inexpedient to come forward. Even Rajiv Gandhi has called off his goodwill mission, although it created a good deal of public enthusiasm.

The Yadav government played an important role until the "voluntary service" drive of 30 October. His popularity and credibility have since dropped significantly. The caste Hindus are up in arms against him over the Mandal Commission. On the other hand, his failure to stop the spread of communal riots will somewhat alienate the minority. It seems that even the Scheduled

castes and subcastes are turning their backs on him and the Congress. Yadav is gradually losing his popularity in the Congress whose support is crucial to the survival of his government in Uttar Pradesh as it is to the existence of the Shekhar government at the center.

The Congress was able to salvage some of its secularist ideals by removing Birendra Patil of Andhra Pradesh and Channa Reddy of Uttar Pradesh from chief ministership citing their failure to put down the riots. However, communal hatred and riots are much more serious in the Hindi Belt. Yet the party is surprisingly inert there. Probably, there the Congress does not want to risk the Hindu vote and plans to get the hatchet job done by the Socialist Janata Dal. The two ousted Congress chief ministers had been the targets of the High Command for months. The High Command suspected that they had joined Sharad Power in a collusion against it. Communal riots gave it an opportunity to remove the thorns. But does that alone make the party's position secure and brighten its election prospects? At the all-India level, the party is not prepared to face elections before ensuring the reorganization of the socio-economic forces. A recent public opinion poll carried by a Hindi daily in Lucknow gives the following outcome in an election: BJP 36 percent, Congress 16 percent, Janata Dal 26 percent, and Socialist Janata and leftists 4 percent.

The economic and social reorganization desired by the Congress cannot be achieved while Yadav is entrenched in Uttar Pradesh and Lalu Prasad in Bihar. In Bihar, the Congress will openly try every means to topple Prasad. However, in Uttar Pradesh such a strategy would face some problems. That would jeopardize the Congress-Janata (S) understanding both in the province and at the center. Chandra Shekhar has clearly said Yadav will stay on in Lucknow. Neither is Yadav willing to leave Lucknow and become a central minister.

Delhi is buzzing with rumors about Gandhi-Shekhar relations. Some say the relationship is based on an excellent rapport. Others think it is worsening because of the way appointments and transfers of key bureaucrats are being handled and also because of the Yadav issue. Some members of the Congress have been incensed by the appointment of the new governor of Delhi. However, they are pleased to have their choices as the chiefs of the IB [Intelligence Bureau] and CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] and T. N. Seshan as chief election commissioner.

Maybe there are no strains yet in Gandhi-Shekhar relations. Janata (S) is not eager to hold elections now. In fact, it is not clear yet whether they will merge with the Congress or contest the elections as Congress partners. The Congress will have little difficulty accommodating all ambitious Janata (S) leaders. There are problems, though. One is determining the leaders' positions in the amalgamated party. Having lived in "exile" for so long, Shekhar surely will not give up his ambitions. Neither should anyone discount his political cunning. Will he

some day make a bid for the top Congress post as an old-time Congress member?

If he does so, how much help could he expect from leaders such as Sharad Power? These unpalatable questions haunt the Congress leadership. The longer Shekhar is allowed to stay in power the more he will solidify his position, and he will do so with the support of a section of Congress members. The [Congress] High Command is certainly not happy over Power after his frequent meetings with Shekhar to forge the Congress-Janata rapprochement. Power's remarks that he would like to leave chief ministership of Maharashtra to become Congress president also has created consternation. Some wonder whether he was talking about becoming the head of the state Congress or about taking over the central organization. The rumors had it in August that the ax would now fall on Birendra Patil, Channa Reddy, and Power. Two of them are gone. Is it now Power's turn to pack? Or is the High Command itself afraid to tangle with him? Hence Shekhar and Gandhi may soon engage in a battle of wits. To win the battle the Congress already has laid a trap within Janata (S).

The two forces that now occupy the [political] stage are the Hindu communalist BJP and the Janata-leftist alliance. If any effort played a spectacular bid for the socio-economic reorganization of the Hindi Belt, it is V. P. Singh's quota policy for the Backward Classes. The leftists believe that class and caste merge at the lower strata of society, and so reservation will help them spread their support in the Hindi Belt. Singh has received a favorable response in Bihar. His own state, Uttar Pradesh, now awaits him. However, Singh is indifferent about giving Janata Dal a solid organizational structure. That has disappointed many. Leaders such as Ajit Singh already have created an uproar about it. Party members and officers have been picked for committees at different levels. But Singh is in Bombay and others have not been able to sit down to finalize them. There is little indication that they will do so soon enough.

Good Policies Seen As Key for Shekhar Government

91AS0313A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
29 Nov 90 p 6

[Article by Manik Bhattacharya: "Will Congress Make Chandra Shekhar's Policies?"]

[Text] The debate, how long will Chandra Shekhar government last, will continue till the time the Congress actually topples it. Leaving aside the debate whether the central government will survive 6 months or a year, this much will have to be said that the problems facing the new government are so daunting that their resolution will be very difficult even for a government with full majority or even overwhelming majority support. Nevertheless, these problems will not wait for another government and therefore these will have to be tackled by

the present government. Clearly the Ram birth place issue has become so complex that on its resolution will depend the future of not only the present government but perhaps even the next government. Chandra Shekhar's effort will be that even if a permanent solution to the problem cannot be found, at least a via media may be discovered so that communal conflict may not assume unmanageable proportions and his own government may not be seriously hit.

But this is not the only political or communal controversy demanding urgent solution. The Punjab and Kashmir problems have also gotten almost out of hand. It is true that Chandra Shekhar is not to blame for the emergence of these problems. He has inherited them. Movements in both the states began during the time of Vishavnath Pratap Singh. But the significant fact in this connection is that this government is surviving on the support of that Congress, during whose administration, these problems emerged and gradually reached their present terrible state. On Kashmir, the influence of Congress can already be discerned. Congress had a big hand in removal of Jagmohan because Rajiv Gandhi had begun to feel that Jagmohan was eliminating the base of Congress and National Conference. At that time Congress had used Farooq Abdullah to attack, by firing whose government, Jagmohan accorded Dr. Farooq Abdullah a fake martyrdom. Immediately on Chandra Shekhar's coming to power, Congress has once again started using Farooq Abdullah. In Kashmir Valley, government employees' agitation had been going on for several months, behind which there was clearly the hand of extremist groups. Girish Saxena was in no mood to bow down before extremists through their surrogate, the government employees. The strike continued for such a long time because the government was not prepared to accept their demands. Right at the time when the employees were getting sick of this strike that had been thrust on them and looking for an excuse to return to work, the Governor, on the advice of the Central government, reached an agreement with them. By the agreement were accepted the two main conditions which were the motivating factors for the strike. It was decided to reinstate those five officials who had been charged with supporting extremist groups and violating administrative duties. An assurance was also given regarding sympathetic consideration of cases of suspension of employee leaders, who had persuaded over 100,000 employees to embark on the path of confrontation. Clearly this must have weakened the position of Governor Girish Saxena and the extremists must be looking on it as their victory.

Regarding Punjab, Chandra Shekhar has been critical of the V.P. Singh administration. He believed that a political dialogue should be initiated in this state and there should be an end to the so-called police oppression. But just on his coming to power there were certain developments in Punjab as a result of which the daily death toll suddenly shot up and a new wave of extremism moved across the state. Considering the conditions in

which the conference of various Sikh groups was going to take place in Anandpur Sahib, nothing positive could be expected from it. There was serious communal tension on account of incidents of burning of pages of Guru Granth Sahib in certain cities. It is unlikely that behind these incidents there was hand of local Hindu organizations because Hindus of Punjab are not oblivious to the effect of such incidents on their own security. It is quite possible that certain Pak trained elements deliberately staged these incidents so that the common Sikh in Punjab may get galvanized and the extremists may obtain public support. Under these conditions, the government perhaps had no alternative but to frustrate the plan for a large-scale conference by arresting Akali leaders. It is possible that this wave of arrests was dictated by events but even in this, some observers are trying to see hand of the Congress party because, during Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi periods, get-tough policy was an integral part of the Punjab policy.

The Assam problem is also a gift of the Congress. On account of political confrontation with Assam Ganh Prishad government, during Rajiv Gandhi time, terms of the Assam agreement were either not enforced honestly or there was foot dragging over it. Bodo problem is clearly a creation of the Congress. In supporting Ulfa there appears to be a hand of some Assam Ganh Prishad leaders but in rendering Ganh Prishad and Assam Chhatar Prishad unpopular, one cannot overlook role of those policies of the Congress government because of which the Assam government could not fulfill its election promises. The Vishwashnath Pratap Singh government got so bogged down in interparty conflicts, agitation arising from recommendations of Mandal Commission and the extraordinary Hindu anger over Ram birth place that it paid no serious attention to Assam problem. The Chandra Shekhar government has no base in Assam. Therefore, politically, it cannot succeed in keeping a check on separatist movements. As political entities only the interests of Assam Ganh Prishad, apart from the Congress, are involved in the state. The Congress leaders are once again trying to consolidate their base but if in doing so, they try to make minorities and Bangla speaking people their vote bank, as had been done in the past, the problem, instead of being resolved, will get further complicated. Thus it is clear that in tackling these serious communal and regional issues, Chandra Shekhar will have to work in the shadow of Congress. In other words, there is a fear that the challenges arising in these states will be met by Chandra Shekhar government through resort to the Congress policies.

The situation arising from the Gulf crisis has put India in a difficult economic spot. Though for this situation it will not be correct to put the blame on the Gulf crisis solely. For the last several years our economic and industrial programs have been regularly slipping behind. The Vishawnath Pratap Singh government did play a role in emptying the treasury in order to court cheap popularity. If, at the time of assuming power, Vishawnath Pratap Singh was correct in saying that he

had inherited an empty treasury, it should be granted that Vishawnath Pratap Singh has left Chandra Shekhar in a far more tough economic situation. At this time we have so little foreign exchange that it is only enough for one month. It is a very dangerous situation for a vast country like India. Clearly this situation cannot be improved overnight. The present government will have to take the same course that the former finance minister Madhu Dandvate had contemplated. In other words, we will have to apply to the World Bank for a big loan on its terms. How deleterious an effect these terms will have on our economic and socioeconomic programs in the long run should be clear to Chandra Shekhar and Rajiv Gandhi both. But it is probably inescapable for the present government.

If the Chandra Shekhar government frames its policies only to buy time, the World Bank loan may provide a short-term relief. But no government is prepared to remain an interim government. Chandra Shekhar has also become prime minister in the hope that sooner or later the political equation will turn out to be favorable for him and he will be able to rule at least till the end of the parliament's term. If he entertains this hope, then it should also be expected from him that he should not tailor his policies for quick fix solutions to the country's economic problems. It is imperative that we should effect such lasting improvements in the economy as may allow us to save foreign exchange. In this context, savings in oil is a major issue. Even if the government today plans to take some such steps as may be expected to reduce consumption of oil by 20 percent, it should be understood that its effects will be seen only after a year's time. This is because the enterprises where oil and its products are used, cannot be stopped at once. Even so, some saving can be effected by curbing extravagance. Along with that it will also be necessary to seriously examine import and export policy and to decide how to stop unnecessary imports and how to develop indigenous substitutes for them. Every government claims that exports will be increased. But there has not been much success in this direction. It is necessary to discover why Indian goods are not being consumed in the world market. Do we really produce such goods which other countries need or whether our marketing techniques are unscientific. The present government may not be able to do much about communal and regional issues but if Chandra Shekhar and his team can succeed in preparing a long-term policy on economic issues, it will be a great victory for them.

Nepalese Leader Talks With Shekhar, Others

91AS0496A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
24 Dec 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 23—During his four-day visit here, Mr Surya Bahadur Thapa, president of the newly-founded National Democratic Party of Nepal, has informed the Prime Minister and other leaders that the incipient terrorism raising its head in Nepal might work

to the detriment of India, apart from checking the growth of democracy in his own country.

Mr Thapa thought it necessary to come to Delhi to warn the Indian leaders of this, because he said "myself and many others like me" regard Indian leaders to be well-wishers of Nepal. Among those with whom he met and discussed bilateral problems in detail were Mr Chandra Shekhar, Mr Vidya Charan Shukla, the External Affairs Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr I.K. Gujral, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao and Mr Atal Bihari Vajpayee, all three former external affairs ministers.

Mr Thapa later told reporters that the situation was "getting worse," both for Nepal and India because of the new developments. He said that a new constitution had been promulgated in Nepal according to which Nepal would have a constitutional monarchy, a parliamentary form of Government and a system that reposes high value in human dignity and an independent judiciary. Mr Thapa, who was the Prime Minister during the Panchayat regime, has now formed the National Democratic Party, to contest the elections to be held in March or April next year.

He said that, a new situation was developing in Nepal in which "people are being terrorized and harmed and their property, rights and dignity are being snatched away." He spoke of recent incidents at Banepa, a town in the outskirts of Kathmandu, where "anti-social elements helped by political leaders and under Government protection had perpetrated violence which was a tactical move to frighten the people and make them vote on their side."

Mr Thapa said that the Nepali Congress had surrendered itself to the Left Front parties and was in no position to resolve the situation. The Nepali Congress had a weak Organization and no cadre base of its own, he said.

Punjab: Shekhar's Initial Handling Praised

91AS0405C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 p 8

[Text] The authorisation that the Akali Dal (M) chief, Mr Simranjit Singh Mann, received from the two other Akali factions to hold talks with the Prime Minister in New Delhi on Friday was welcome. But his platform of self-determination for the Sikhs is bound to raise the hackles of the mainstream political parties. On his part, Mr Chandra Shekhar had not only expressed his willingness to talk to the Akalis—and the militants if need be—within the framework of the Constitution, but appears to be reconciled to the idea of working for a constitutional amendment if required. How he can accomplish the latter with the Janata Dal and the Leftists explicitly against an amendment and deal with the Congress(I)'s well-known antipathy towards the Anandpur Sahib resolution with its disconcerting echoes of "self-determination" is not very clear. But if his accommodating attitude towards Mr Mann and the Akali leaders on Friday and the Akalis' reiteration of the

demand for self determination adds up to anything it is that the Prime Minister is contemplating ways of giving the people of Punjab more say in their own affairs. The feeling has been strengthened by the Punjab administration blessing the Panthic craving for the use of Punjabi as official language by constituting a committee to go into the matter.

Among the reasons for some measure of public sympathy for the Prime Minister's peace initiative is the worsening situation in the State where violence is on the rise even by its endemic standards and migrations have been reported. That the desired breakthrough eluded his two predecessors should also spur on Mr Chandra Shekhar to prove his political skills and establish the credibility he requires more than anyone else to survive in a difficult situation. Many see the key to the Punjab problem in an appreciation of an exceptional situation created by the rising aspirations of a relatively prosperous people.

Though there can be no denying that the vast majority of the population is peaceful, terrorists cannot succeed without some rapport with the masses. The insults inflicted on the Sikh psyche by the indiscriminate execution of draconian measures by previous administrations and the lapses of corrupt guardians of the law who have developed a vested interest in sustaining terrorism, have not really been assuaged. Mr Chandra Shekhar carries some credibility with the people of the State, for, having once condemned Operation Bluestar and the feeling in some quarters that he, more than anyone else, can deliver the goods. He does in fact run the risk of being accused of selling out to the Akalis to further his own ends. How he handles the problem and persists with his peace initiative without running into the quagmire of his predecessors will be widely followed. But for the moment he deserves credit for setting the ball rolling.

States Asked To Postpone Local Elections

91AS0473A Madras THE HINDU in English
20 Dec 90 p 7

[Article: "Centre Again Asks States To Put Off Civic Bodies' Polls"]

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 19. The Centre has once again "advised" all States and Union Territories to postpone local bodies' elections beyond March next year to ensure the "smooth and orderly" conduct of the world's biggest administrative exercise—the 1991 Indian census, official sources said here.

The "advice," for the second time in two months, had been given in a recent communication addressed to Chief Ministers and Union Territory administrators at the instance of the Census Commission, because of the "poor response" received to the earlier communication making a similar request, the sources said. The move indicates the earnestness of the Centre's desire to avoid holding of the local elections simultaneously with the census operations as is evident by the repetition of the Centre's "advice" which is considered a rarity.

The Centre had sent a similar communication to the States and Union Territories about two months ago after completion of the houselisting operations for the census, but so far "very few" States had come out with a positive response.

The census is being conducted all over India, except Jammu and Kashmir, between February 9 and 28 next year with a revisional round in the first week of March.

The Census Commission had prevailed upon the Centre to issue a second communication urgently because of the poor response received so far and because the census date was approaching fast.

Asked to specify how many States had so far responded positively the sources mentioned only Madhya Pradesh. But an announcement about the postponement of local bodies and panchayat elections in Punjab had been made by the former Punjab Governor, Mr. Virendra Verma.

Regarding the national capital where such elections are due because of the supersession of the Municipal Corporation of Delhi, the Prime Minister, Mr. Chandra Shekhar, himself told a Bharatiya Janata Party delegation that the elections could not be held before April next year because of the census.

The sources said things would become particularly difficult if Maharashtra and Kerala did not postpone the local bodies and panchayat elections due there.

The States where such elections were due included Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Goa, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Kerala. The sources, however, made it clear that the "advice" was restricted only with regard to elections of municipal bodies, corporations and panchayats and was not applicable in case of general elections to the State Assemblies and to the Lok Sabha.

Asked about Assam, where the census is being conducted after a lapse of 20 years, the sources said it would be "appreciated" if the general elections to the Assembly which are due next month were also postponed beyond March 1991.

In the border State of Jammu and Kashmir both houselisting and the main census will be held together in phases between August and October next year because of weather conditions.

Meanwhile, both houselisting and the main census have already been completed in the snow-bound areas of Himachal Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.

Editorial Questions Shekhar Government's Decency

91AS0404D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
1 Jan 91 p 8

[Text] Dr Sanjay Singh's refusal to quit the Cabinet and Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar's readiness to tolerate

it testify to the moral insensitivity of today's political leadership. Dr Sanjay Singh, who belongs to the former princely family of Amethi, typifies the breed of politicians who came to the fore in the days of the late Sanjay Gandhi. When Mr V.P. Singh fell out with the Gandhi establishment and formed the Jan Morcha, Dr Sanjay Singh, who is related to him by marriage, joined him, although at one stage he had been considered a possible Congress(I) chief minister of Uttar Pradesh [UP]. It was shortly after he broke away from the Congress(I) that the former national badminton champion Syed Modi was killed and a needle of suspicion pointed towards him in the light of a rumoured affair between him and Modi's wife. When the case was referred to the Central Bureau of Investigation [CBI] there were insinuations that the Congress(I) regime was using the agency to settle political scores. Dr Sanjay Singh and Mrs Ameeta Modi figured as prime accused in the chargesheet which the CBI filed in a Lucknow court, but the judge discharged both of them even as he committed the other five accused to trial. The CBI favoured an appeal against this order, and the Centre's highest law officers concurred with its recommendation.

Dr Sanjay Singh's political clout was in evidence at every stage of the proceedings. The CBI probe did not come in the way of his appointment as general secretary of the Uttar Pradesh unit of the Janata Dal. He was standing trial in the lower court when the Janata Dal chose him as a candidate for the Rajya Sabha. It was a highly improper step as it could be interpreted as signaling the then Prime Minister's interest in him. By the time the Janata Dal split, Dr Sanjay Singh had been discharged by the lower court but the question of a CBI appeal was under consideration. Mr Chandra Shekhar's decision to appoint him as Minister of State with independent charge of Communications may have been prompted primarily by the desire to reward him suitably for having come over to his side, but it was as improper as Mr V.P. Singh's action in bringing him into Parliament.

In our system, the sessions court's is not the last word. There is no getting away from the fact that the investigating agency as well as the law officers are of the view that there is enough evidence to get a higher court to reverse its decision. The dearth of talent in Mr Chandra Shekhar's party does not justify a murder case suspect occupying a ministerial chair. If there is any trace of political decency in him, Mr Chandra Shekhar must ask Dr Sanjay Singh to step down and await the verdict of the superior courts.

Cultural Unity With Bangladeshis Said 'Like Germans'

91AS0363B Calcutta DESH in Bengali
8 Dec 90 pp 87-88

[Article by Anima Mukhapadhvay: "The Division Line of Two Bengals"]

[Text] A lot of water has flowed down the Ganges and the Padma. A lot of muddy water that is. That has left a layer of silt behind. It is said [the hearts of] the two Bengals beat with sounds of the whistle of Shealdah and horn of Goalanda. Life ends when the heartbeat stops. The desire to preserve precious life has been drawing sensitive people of the two Bengals closer. Exchange of feelings and ideas has become more urgent than the business of daily life. It is inevitable for those inspired by the love of the same language. Who has erected this wall between people who can communicate without an interpreter? Why can't people so close to one another relate to one another despite the urge from deep inside their hearts?

The two Bengals remain estranged at the banks of the proverbial Padma. The ferry operates, people cross the river, but then vigilance is maintained, and [visits] are timed through passports and visas. Yet the skies of Bengal have no borders. Neither does the air. The sun and the stars resonate with the same tune day and night. The seasons follow the same cycle. Once together but now separated, the twin streams of life, the two parallel independent nations are fast approaching the 21st century. Today true culture-loving people in both Bengals desire in the heart of their hearts the reunification of their cultures. They want merger, not give-and-take. They want the merger of their literature, art and music. Still, the question remains: Will the two Bengals reunite?

Dr. Atul Sur has focused on this question in his book "Will the Two Bengals Unite?" The writer discusses the issue in the last of the book's 12 chapters. The chapters: Sources of Bengali Culture, Muslim Rule in Bengal, Anthropological Identity of Bengali Muslims, Bengali Muslim Society, United Hindus-Muslim Struggles, Why Was Bengal Partitioned?, Power Struggle, Birth of Sovereign Independent Bangladesh, Communalism—A Question, Heritage of Bengali Muslims, Today's Bangladesh and Will the Two Bengals Unite? The writer says he has "added the other chapters as necessary background for this essential essay [the last chapter]." In other words, to make the reader read a 10-page essay he has given him a bonus of 110 pages.

However, we know this material all too well. We know very well the history of the founding of Muslim rule in Bengal by [Ikhtiaruddin Muhammad] Bakhtiar Khilji in A.D. 1204, 500 years of Muslim rule, conversion of Hindus into the new Muslim class, a class that consisted mostly of Hindu converts, their tradition and customs, cultural exchange between Hindus and Muslims, political causes of the partition of Bengal and emergence of Bangladesh. An eager reader can learn all this with a little effort. Still, a few chapters are valuable. Among the noteworthy are "Heritage of Bengali Muslims" and "Today's Bangladesh." The first is an absorbing account of the architectural contribution of Bengalis, both Hindus and Muslims, [narrated by] anthropologist Sur. The second portrays the progress of Bengali Muslims in education, culture and literature. It cannot be denied that if the people of the two Bengals, bound by the same

language and culture, come together, they will do so because of their hearts' desire. Is it necessary, then, to dwell on the anthropological identity of Bengali Hindus and Muslims such as [who is] a "long-headed Nordic" and [who is] a "flat-headed Alpine"? Can this identity alone unite the people of the two countries? In fact, the writer has ruled out this reunion, saying it is unnecessary. Hence it is necessary to look into the justification of putting out a book with a question mark on its title.

Dr. Sur maintains that the reasons for his pessimism, i.e. the main obstacles to the reunification of the two Bengals, are economic and social. As for the economic factor, he says at the time of the partition East Bengal's abundance in foodgrains weighed heavily in favor of unity of the two Bengals. Today the situation has changed. On the one hand, population increase has created their [Bangladeshis'] own food shortage. On the other, West Bengal has become self-sufficient in food supply. Besides, the population of East Bengal is now about double that of West Bengal. If the two Bengals reunite, West Bengal will not benefit economically. Hence reunification is no longer desirable. The economic consideration is very important, and so many people probably will agree with Dr. Sur. Among the social obstacles, Dr. Sur's main concern is the Muslim preponderance in the other Bengal. The demographic argument has a different ring to it. It is not just a matter of statistics, but is colored by religion. In other words, if the two Bengals were to reunite, Muslims will emerge as the majority.

Well, as long as India remains a secular nation, what is the problem? [Besides,] is it essential that India should always have a Hindu majority? There is another question. With whom will the united Bengal join? Certainly, the writer is not thinking of an independent united Bengal. On the other hand, he has not given much consideration to the cultural background, which binds the people of the two Bengals, makes them share a sense of kinship and serves as a bridge between the two Bengals.

Today, when East and West Germanys make history by smashing the Berlin Wall and getting back together, we should think positively about the question "Will the two Bengals reunite?" Besides, even if worldly unity should seem a far cry, where is the obstacle to cultural unity? We are optimistic. We want book covers in both Bengals to bear titles in the same living Bengali script, [the script] of the eternal Bengali language. Only the bond of the books can bind the two Bengals. That cannot be affected by a negative decision [about political unity].

Editorial Sees Hope of Peace in Assam

91AS0374B Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 12 Dec 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Assam After President's Rule"]

[Text] Assam is gradually returning to normal. Compared to the disorder, anarchy, and strife in other parts

of the country, Assam appears to be rather peaceful. In fact, Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, and Gujarat seem to have been set on fire. Assam, too, was burning in the fire of unrest. However, the situation there is fast improving since the imposition of president's rule, passage of antiterrorist measures empowering the army to restore order in the affected areas. Five hundred extremists belonging to the terrorist organization ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] have been arrested. Most ULFA bases have been destroyed, and the remaining fighters have fled Assam. Hence it seems the president's rule and army deployment have worked. Almost the same measures were adopted in Kashmir and Punjab. But they did not produce desired results in either state. Terrorism in those states is not just unabated, it is increasing in intensity. From that angle, central rule and military operation have proved a remarkable success in Assam.

To achieve that, Assam's elected government had to be dismissed and elections to the state's Legislative Assembly postponed. The center had no other avenue left open to it. That the elected AGP [Asom Gana Parishad] government did not make any efforts to stop ULFA terrorism was clear like daylight. The classified government papers that the army has recovered from the ULFA hideouts suggest that ULFA could have a secret understanding with the AGP government. Otherwise, how could the secret file on ULFA movements sent by the central interior minister end up in an ULFA base rather than in the state Interior Ministry? Critics of the AGP government had been saying ULFA is nothing but AGP's fighting arm. The military campaign reveals that their complaint was not totally unfounded. In such a situation, the center could not have left the state's thriving oil and tea industries, business and commerce, and security of its people to the mercy of a group of misguided, armed youths. There was no opportunity to confront the ULFA extremists without dismissing the elected state government. [However,] the center was able to take the difficult decision about Assam before it was too late. The shaky minority Chandra Shekhar government had reason to be ambivalent about it. But he [Shekhar] shook off all hesitation, ignored all opposition, and moved to restore rule of law in Assam. That has produced quick results. The army acted speedily and wiped out extremist bases north of the Brahmaputra valley. The fear and insecurity that haunted public minds have largely been removed. The governor's administration has ensured security of life and property, which is the primary job of any government. A breeze is wafting relief in the state.

Maybe complete normalcy will require a little more time to settle. As soon as that is accomplished, arrangement should be made to hold elections to the state Legislative Assembly. The governor himself reportedly wants to do so. The political parties already have demanded elections. A particularly unusual situation had warranted president's rule. Central rule such as this cannot be a substitute for representative government. It can only be

a temporary, interim measure. When the situation becomes conducive for elections, the special military power law and the antiterrorism measure should not be continued a day longer. The responsibility for law and order should be returned to civilian hands. In a word, steps should be taken to make sure that the Punjab episode is not repeated in Assam. To go on extending president's rule in doses is a futile political exercise. At the first opportunity, the people of Assam should be allowed to choose their representatives. It is the duty of the dismissed AGP to help the governor in this matter.

Commentary Sees Future Pakistani Nuclear Attack

91AS0245A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi
9 Nov 90 p 6

[Article by Ray Singh: "Is There Apprehension of a Pakistani Attack?"]

[Text] Even though there is intimate friendship between Pakistan and Bangladesh at present, but Pakistan has not still psychologically completely accepted the existence of Bangladesh. Evidence for this comes from the oath which every army officer of Pakistan's Kabul military academy takes since 1971 when he becomes a commissioned officer. Under this oath, every officer pledges that he will take revenge from India for Pakistan's 1971 defeat. During last 18 years, every army officer has taken this oath from which two things are very clear. The first thing is that Pakistan psychologically still considers Bangladesh as one of its parts. Secondly, Bangladesh came into existence with the help of India and therefore India will continue to be their permanent enemy until Pakistani army officers fulfill their pledge.

Pakistani army officers are always ready to follow-through on their oath and are looking for the right opportunity. But according to higher authorities, they haven't yet found the right opportunity. During last 18 years, Pakistan has tried at least three times to see how long India will be able to resist Pakistani army. Last year Pakistan conducted a large military exercise named "Jarbe Momin" in the area near Indian border. The main purpose of this military exercise, as is clear from its name, was to find out what policy and tactics Pakistan will have to use in a Pakistan-India war for Islamic Pakistan to win. According to Pakistani military experts, from "Jarbe Momin" it has become quite clear that before attacking India, Pakistan will have to create extensive disturbance in the border areas of India so that Indian military and paramilitary forces will be so immersed in this disturbance that they will be forced to lay their weapons before advancing Pakistani army. In addition, Pakistani experts have also felt that if Pakistani infiltrators can do large scale sabotage in the north-western region of India, then Indian border forces modern weapons will not prove effective against Pakistan. In this way, Pakistani army officers will themselves be able to decide where and how on Indian soil they will

fight and win the war. Pakistan army's commander-in-chief, General Aslam Beg, has himself said that the next Indo-Pak war will be fought on Indian soil and not in Pakistan. Ten years back, this type of statement by Aslam Beg would have had been interpreted as a bragging. But today the circumstances are different. It's not that Pakistan has become a far better nation or a super power. The fact is that in spite of being a major power, India itself is becoming a dwarf nation and providing all those opportunities with which Pakistani army officers can fulfill their pledge. The situation in Kashmir and Punjab is known to everyone. Here, anti-India terrorists are strong. And on Rajasthan-Pak border also, Pakistani infiltrators and smugglers have not reduced their activities. The "Ram Janambhumi-Babri Masjid" and Mandal commission, etc., issues have diverted the attention of Indian army and paramilitary forces so much to the internal problems that any enemy of India would see this as an opportunity to attack. In reality, India itself is providing means for the success of "Jarbe Momin."

As long as Pakistan was under marshal law, Pakistani army was tied up so much in the internal affairs of Pakistan that there was no possibility of a great danger for India. Pakistan's military brass was so much involved in smuggling, corruption and fraud that they were not willing to risk their well-being for some higher objective. In reality, this situation was a blessing for India's security. But our leaders and so-called experts, without thinking about the consequences, kept on encouraging democracy in Pakistan and did not stand still until Benazir Bhutto became the prime minister in 1988. But they were disappointed when Benazir Bhutto, like her father, repeated the oath of fighting war with India for thousand years. Now in Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto has been eliminated and in her place an even more fundamentalist Islamic leader, Nawaz Sharif, has formed government on the basis of a majority received by his party "Islamic Jamhuri Iftihad." Only time will tell what attitude the new government will have toward India. But one thing is clear from these events that instead of staying involved in the internal affairs of Pakistan, Pakistani army will have opportunities to make itself stronger and this is what commander-in-chief, General Beg wanted. It does not mean that Pakistan's army will not play an active role in politics. In reality, the results of 24 October's elections have increased the respect of Pakistani army because before the elections General Beg had indicated that he will not accept Benazir Bhutto as Prime Minister. In this way, the election of 24 October was a victory for General Beg, in absentia. Therefore now in formulating Pakistan's policies, army's role has become even more important. In other words, the outlines of future Indo-Pak relations will not only be decided by Pakistan's politicians but also by Pakistani generals.

In my opinion, Pakistani military officers will not attack India until they have at least 50 or more nuclear weapons. It doesn't mean that Pakistan will use these weapons against India at first opportunity. There are two

main objectives for making or acquiring nuclear weapons. The first objective is to warn India that now any skirmish between Pakistan and India will be on equal footing. The second objective is that if Pakistani forces are not successful in resisting Indian forces and it came to the point of Pakistan being disintegrated, then Pakistan will destroy India by using nuclear weapons. In this way, with nuclear weapons, Pakistan wants to make arrangements for its security under any circumstances.

The fundamental question is whether Pakistan will be able to make or acquire 50 or more nuclear weapons. According to United States secret agency, CIA, Pakistan is right now capable of producing nuclear weapons. Even this is being said that right now Pakistan can make 5 to 10 nuclear weapons in a week to two week period. All the materials and equipment for making nuclear weapons are available at Kahuta Atomic Center and a laboratory in Karachi. When ordered, Pakistani scientists and experts can make three to five atomic bombs immediately by combining various components. In addition, if Pakistan wishes, it can acquire bombs similar to the one dropped on Hiroshima-Nagasaki in 1945 from today's weapon markets by paying exorbitant price, because some European atomic powers are willing to sell their old atomic weapons. It is said that Pakistan is also talking to France in this regard. One should remember that during the seventies, France withdrew from providing Pakistan the ability to make atomic weapons under pressure from United States.

The question is not of Pakistan having atomic weapons but of their use. Pakistan does not have missiles to use atomic weapons against India but it does have F-16 fighter planes from United States. The fighter planes can certainly be used for nuclear weapons but the planes need to be slightly modified which is not possible without help from United States. Under the U.S.-Pakistan treaty, F-16 fighter planes can not be used for nuclear weapons. In addition, United States has made it clear that until it receives firm assurances or proof that Pakistan doesn't have nuclear weapons it is not going to give aid. Without this aid, Pakistan will have hard time meeting its needs. From this it's clear that for the next 1 to 1.5 year, Pakistan will not be able to attack India. In these 1 to 2 years, if India does not take strong steps to stabilize the situation in border states, then according to their pre-planned scheme, Pakistani infiltrators and terrorists receiving training in Pakistan, will overcome the difficulties of the first phase of attack on India and clear the way for a successful attack.

Looking at these things, it can be said that when and where Pakistan will attack is not dependent on Pakistani army officers. To some extent, its blame also falls on Indian leaders who only worry about their seats in parliament and consequently have brought a great nation to a pitiable situation. It should be remembered that if in South-Asia region a strong nation like India started vacillating, then the security of the whole region will be in such a great danger that its seriousness cannot be correctly estimated at this time. In whole South-Asia,

to maintain an environment of regional security, a strong India is a must. Thus, any type of instability in India can not only create serious problems for India but for the whole South-Asia region.

Achievements in Missile Technology Outlined

91AS0404A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
29 Dec 90 pp 2, 3

[Text] India made quantum jumps in missile technology and the space programme, which seemed jinxed, took off in a manner that promises much for science and technology during 1990.

The country's medium-range multi-target surface-to-air missile Akash was successfully test fired from the Interim Test Range at Chandipur-on-sea in Orissa in August. This marked a major milestone in the integrated missile development programme of the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO).

Akash was the fourth Indian-made missile, after Prithvi, Trishul and Agni, to be tested.

Later in the year, India's first indigenous third generation anti-tank missile, Nag, was successfully flight-tested at Chandipur-on-sea. Jubilant defence experts described Nag as more than matching any comparable missile in the armoury of advanced nations.

Nag, with a 4-km range and "fire and forget and top attack capability," can be launched from both land-based missile carriers as well as helicopters.

The country also launched, in April, its first indigenous missile boat, Vibhuti, a 850-ton vessel that is the latest in the new series of warships based on Soviet design. Vibhuti is the first of a new series of ultra-modern high-speed boats being built for the Indian Navy with Soviet collaboration. The boat's weapon package consists of surface-to-surface missiles, surface-to-air missiles, gun mountings for surface and air attacks and launchers for camouflage.

India joined a select band of countries with millimeter wave (MMW) technology which finds use in missile warheads like the anti-tank Nag. The MMW is expected to revolutionise the country's civilian and defence communications.

The country became a member of an exclusive club of seven world maritime superpowers which possess the technology to communicate with submarines with the commissioning in December of the very low frequency (VLF) station INS Kattaboman, the first of its kind in Asia.

The station, set up in Tirunelveli district in Tamil Nadu, will help establish communications with naval submarines without the vessels having to surface.

Insat-1D, the last of India's first generation Insat-1 series, soared into the skies in June, breaking the jinx

that seemed to have plagued the country's space programme in the last few years.

The Indian space programme touched another milestone when its old reliable, Insat-1B, completed its life span in 1990. Put into orbit seven years ago, the silent workhorse had been primarily responsible for ushering in a revolution in India's telecommunications, television and radio broadcasting, agriculture, weather and allied sectors.

Space scientists are now looking forward to launching the country's indigenous Insat-2 series in the coming years to notch a further success in space technology.

The series of successes dispelled the gloom that enveloped in the scientific community at the beginning of the year when four members of the ninth Indian Antarctica expedition died of carbon monoxide poisoning in their tents. The expedition, however, overcame this setback to continue its scientific explorations and even grew cabbages, cauliflowers and cucumbers in the icy continent.

Scientists also unearthed an earthworm-like worm under a mossy rock, which, they say, might be the first micro-organism to be detected in Antarctica.

A plane accident in Bangalore early this year brought into controversy the fly-by-wire technology of the A-320 Airbus where the usual web of mechanical cables and conventional control connections are replaced by electrical cables. But an inquiry committee cleared the high-tech plane went into operation again after being grounded temporarily.

Big dams continued to be the focus of debate with environmentalists agitating against the construction of the Tehri dam in Uttar Pradesh.

Scientists at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre rekindled the dying interest in cold fusion, a phenomenon that had generated much heat last year. Fresh evidence on cold fusion at the BARC laboratories, presented at an international conference in the United States, regenerated interest in a subject that was under a cloud.

Editorial Sees Celebration in Bangladesh as 'Premature'

91AS0363A Calcutta ANANDA BARAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 7 Dec 90 p 4

[Editorial: "Ershad's Departure"]

[Text] At last President [Hussein Muhammad] Ershad has accepted all opposition demands. He has agreed not only to read out his resignation letter, but also to appoint the opposition nominee head of the caretaker government, dissolve Parliament and thus pave the way for general elections. Needless to mention, he did not step down voluntarily. Did any dictator ever do that? He left office under compulsion, from the pressure of a popular movement.

In fact, the current political situation in Bangladesh is completely beyond the control of Ershad and his government. Events are following popular will, regardless of his wishes. It is impossible for Ershad to hang on to power even if he wishes to do so. The outburst of anger against his government has jeopardized his personal safety and the safety of those belonging to his party. Today the army has to guard Ershad's home. All this is the victory of the people. It has been proved once again that an awakened people can bring any dictator to his knees. It proves that power flows—not from the barrel of the gun—but from popular will.

Possibly, the people of Bangladesh have been inspired by the triumph of popular resurgence in different parts of the world. The popular upheavals toppling East European governments, carried by electronic and other media, are bound to have an effect. More than ever, it has been proved that loyalty of the military and vigilance of secret police cannot shield a dictatorship against the public. However, outside inspiration can only give people confidence about the invincibility of their movement. What plunges people into that movement is anger and other things that abound in Bangladesh. The impetus for a change in Bangladesh was fueled by people's economic hardships, destitution of the majority of the people, increasing unemployment, one-party rule under a general, absence of a representative government and curbs on civil liberties and human rights. When that impetus translated into a popular movement and forced the opposition political coalitions and forces into a united anti-Ershad front, Ershad was bound to step aside. It is clear that during the eight years of administration he failed to legitimize the power that he had acquired through a military coup. The Bangladeshis have unequivocally said they did not participate in the elections of 1986 and 1988. Neither have they accepted Ershad as their representative. They also have made it clear that they support Mrs. Hasina [Wazed], daughter of [Sheikh] Mujib; Mrs. Khaleda [Zia], the widow of Ziaur Rahman; Jamaat-i-Islami and the leftists, but not Ershad or his National Party.

This triumph of the opposition-led movement is not the ultimate achievement. It is just a beginning. True, Ershad has lost his popularity and power, but the army that supported him remains the strongest organized force in Bangladesh. Compared to it, the opposition parties and alliances are loose forums. In Bangladesh, where democracy has yet to take root, the military plays a crucial role and it has not become accustomed to staying in the barracks. In that situation, nothing should be done to provoke that force into intervening in politics. Hence participants in the movement should exercise caution. Disruptive activities such as attacking Ershad supporters, burning their houses, vandalizing their offices or maintaining vigils at the airport could invite military intervention. The people of Bangladesh and their leadership have won the first round of the battle with very little bloodshed. But the victory celebration should not degenerate into taking revenge, which would

erode the moral justification [of the movement] and jeopardize democratic goals. Hence Mrs. Wazed and Mrs. Zia should remain watchful, hold their supporters in leash and ensure transfer of power through democratic means. Excitement should not be allowed to derail the movement.

Commentary Outlines Practical Initiatives for 1991

91AS0404C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English
31 Dec 90 p 8

[Article by Nikhil Chakravarty; words in italics as published]

[Text] At the end of every year, we have the habit—now developed into a ritual—of looking back adding up the plus and minus account of the 12 months just gone by.

This of course is being done this year too, and I am sure many will lay it thick, and rightly, that this has been one of the most unsettling years in our country since independence.

Anguish

The battle for Kashmir fought on the very morrow of independence, was at that time won gloriously with the active support of the people of the valley who helped magnificently to ward off the invader from across the border.

But this time, after 40 years, while militarily the frontier is secure, the battle for winning over the hearts and minds of the Kashmiri people is yet to be won. No doubt a sombre reflection on the manner of functioning of our political leadership, but the anguish can hardly be averted.

Not only Kashmir, the crisis in Punjab has worsened despite periodic tinkering from the Centre, mostly changing Governors while repeating *ad nauseam* that it's interested in a political solution. Nobody seems to know or care to know how to bring about a political solution. On the ground, only police action persists, while the Khalistanis are getting emboldened week by week.

Assam has just underlined what has been simmering all over the North-east—if we are honest, we have to admit that essentially this is a case of bitter alienation which naturally thrives with secessionist overtones whenever it affects a frontier region. The ULFA [United Liberation Front of Assam] militancy is a stark manifestation of this wide-spreading alienation.

There is nothing to gloat over the army operation. Perhaps more appropriately it should be an occasion for stern self-introspection at the tragedy that our armed forces meant to guard our frontiers against any aggressor had to point their guns against our own boys and girls, our very kith and kin.

This year has witnessed the unleashing of forces of Hindu-Muslim tension unheard of since the bloody trail of partition accompanying the independence of the country. Not only in its magnitude but in its intensity, such a climate of distrust and hatred between the two communities had never been felt before over such a wide range. This deadly plague can hardly be measured by statistics of those killed or wounded or the extent of property destroyed or damaged.

More serious is the reality that in the name of religion, frenzied passions are being worked up to destroy faith and trust among millions whose life and living are inextricably interwoven. When we cease to preserve the sacred behest that I-am-my-brother's-keeper, we step back from civilisation into barbarism. There may be some patch-up arrangement on the Ayodhya temple-mosque dispute with all the godmen around, but who will take out the iron that has entered the soul?

Dismal Outlook

With all these setbacks—moral, ideological, cultural as well as political—what we are face to face today with, is the grim economic situation. The rising prices linked to inflation with backbreaking indebtedness which is inexorably heading for the Government admitting to bankruptcy.

Such a dismal crisis may be partially accounted for by external factors but is very largely due to the wages of profligacy pursued in the last few years, helping to widen the gap between the rich and the super-rich on one side, and the vast multitude of the deprived and underprivileged on the other. This immoral coexistence between affluence and impoverishment poses the greatest threat to national integration today.

Against this lowering gloom all round, there are streaks of sunshine which one has to keep in mind when sizing up the complex reality of today. Sometime during this year was held a meeting of concerned citizens on the initiative of one of the very perceptive scientist-thinkers of our country, Professor Yashpal, with the idea of enlisting the entire corps of the university campus—both faculty and student community—for a one-year nationwide drive to spread literacy all over the country.

Snowballed

This modest initiative—about which notice was taken at the time in these columns—has quietly snowballed and many others have responded enthusiastically.

Two weeks ago, a meeting was called in Madras by the doyen of our educationists, Dr Malcolm Adiseshiah, which was attended not only by the core group but vice-chancellors from all over Tamil Nadu, as also all the teachers' associations and also parents' bodies, Rotary clubs and chambers of commerce and industry. Political parties have responded both at the State level and at the national level—from the Congress(I), the Janata Dal, the Left and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and even the

Prime Minister. There has been no dissenting voice while many useful and practical suggestions have come up.

The manifesto of this initiative, entitled "Mass action for national regeneration," has the key message.

"Let learning and education in colleges and universities for one year be away from buildings into the middle of our societal arena. This implies that for one year everyone connected with colleges and universities—teachers, students, principals, vice-chancellors, office workers and other employees—gets immersed in making 200 to 300 million people literate in that one year. Along with literacy, will go programmes of population, education, health, water and environment. A programme of learning, teaching and action. A year of purposeful education."

This magnificent initiative is yet to be formally launched but the very fact that such an initiative is taken up without fanfare but with the utmost concern by men and women who are good and true to the great traditions of our civilisation, helps to reinforce our faith in the enduring qualities of this nation.

Such dedication to the nation's interest can be gleaned in many a silent crusader in many corners of our great country. One such instance is provided for in a recent publication by a distinguished journalist. Out of years of sustained labour has come from his authorship a great book of national concern. In the book called appropriately *WATERS OF HOPE*, B.G. Verghese has dealt in meticulous detail with the tremendous potentialities of Himalaya-Ganga development through close co-operation which holds out the promise of uplifting the lives of a billion people.

Understanding

This has to be built on close understanding and co-operation between our country and two of our neighbours, Nepal and Bangladesh. Flood control, irrigation, power generation and preservation of the environment—here is a fantastic vision of building a new world. Not just dream clouds, but a living reality—if it only can turn the face of our great nation from the sordid goings-on in conventional politics.

Here is the path to hope and glory to traverse in the new year about to begin.

Agitation Launched Against Union Carbide

91AS0494A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*
in English 28 Dec 90 p 3

[Text] Bombay, Dec. 27—The Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan, today launched an agitation to secure just compensation and ensure that the Union Carbide was duly penalised.

Mr Abdul Jabbar (35), convener of the Sangathan, told reporters that the continuing liability of the Union

Carbide must be upheld to ensure that adequate funds were available for the victims' care.

Moreover, he said, a trial must be held on Union Carbide's liability to compel it to disclose important information on the contents and effects of the gas and expose the faulty plant design and negligent management practices which triggered the world's biggest industrial disaster.

Mr Jabbar wanted an independent national commission be appointed on relief and rehabilitation of victims of the Bhopal tragedy to implement programmes for monitoring their health condition and economic rehabilitation.

The commission should consist of reputed and non-political people and representatives of victims of the gas tragedy.

He said some mistakes committed by the Madhya Pradesh government like the faulty categorisation of just 48 persons in the whole of Bhopal as permanently disabled and corruption in distribution of interim relief should be eliminated.

Mr Jabbar opined the value of life of an Indian was no different from that of any foreigner and that the quantum of compensation granted to the gas victims should be equivalent to that given to any foreigner.

Immediate steps should be undertaken to provide better quality of medical care including the initiation of a lifetime health monitoring programme for the over 500,000 victims. The poor quality of healthcare available at government hospitals was compelling victims to seek medical help from private doctors even though their incomes were meagre.

Another victim, Ms Hamida Bi (45), vowed to continue the struggle till Union Carbide was penalised.

She said the criminal charges against Carbide officials should be pursued to avoid industrial risks in the future.

The other victims, who addressed the news conference, wanted the payment of Rs [rupees] 750 crore plus accumulated interest of around Rs 150 crores, to be treated as a first instalment.

The court's stipulation that Union Carbide should maintain \$3 billion in unencumbered assets to meet future demands for compensation must continue, they said.

Swiss Bank Hands Over Bofors Papers

91AS0466A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
14 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] The Central Bureau of Investigation [CBI] on Thursday received the Swiss Bank documents relating to A.E. Services, an accused company in the Bofors, from Switzerland, reports PTI.

Official sources said in New Delhi the documents were sent by the Indian embassy at Berne through the diplomatic bag this afternoon.

Earlier, the A.E. Services papers were handed over to the Indian embassy by the Swiss Department of Justice and police following a court order.

According to the Bofors case first information report, A.E. Services had allegedly received \$7.3 million from the Swedish gun company as part of the "kickbacks" in the deal.

"This is one of the quickest among such requests which has been granted by the Swiss authorities to the requesting country in the matter of international mutual assistance in criminal matters," the spokesman said.

He said CBI would produce these documents before special judge, V.S. Aggarwal, on Friday as these documents were received in response to the letter rogatory (request) sent by the court on 7 February this year.

The documents received by the CBI consist of 119 pages, apart from the formal forwarding document and include a report by the Zurich investigating judge Dieter Jann Dorrodi, dated 15 August 1990, the official sources said.

The Geneva Cantonal Court is currently considering whether papers relating to the other five frozen accounts—Lotus, Tulip, Mont Blanc, Svenska Inc and an unidentified account—be passed on to the Indian investigators.

Even if the Cantonal Court—equivalent to a high court here—passes an order favourable to the CBI, the papers cannot immediately reach here as the authorised signatories to these five accounts can file an appeal in the Federal Court or the Swiss Supreme Court.

The informed sources said the papers relating to the Zurich account of A.E. Services Ltd. delivered to the CBI, were accompanied by their English translations.

Coincidentally, the Bofors papers have reached the CBI on the last day of Mr Rajendra Shekhar's term as the CBI director.

Delhi Police Commissioner Vijay Karan takes over as CBI chief on Friday.

The A.E. Services papers were handed over to the Indian embassy in Berne on 4 December, following the Swiss Supreme Court's rejection of an appeal by the accused company.

The company had in a last-ditch effort pleaded with the Federal Court last month to reject the Indian Government's request for handing over the Secret bank account and maintain the traditional secrecy of the Swiss banks.

The Bofors F.I.R. names the following 14 accused:

Mr Martin Ardbo, former president of M/s A B Bofors of Sweden, concerned directors and employees of A B

Bofors, Mr Win Chadha, president of M/s Anatron General Corporation, New Delhi, concerned directors, employees and direct and indirect beneficiaries of M/s Anatron General Corporation, concerned directors of Svenska Inc, Panama, concerned directors of M/s Pitco/Moresco/Moineao Sa, Geneva C/o Mr G.P. Hinduja, London, Mr G.P. Hinduja, concerned directors of M/s A.E. Service Ltd, United Kingdom, concerned directors of M/s CIAOU Anstalt Vaduz, Liechtenstein, concerned directors of M/s Division beneficiaries Accrediteurs, Hong Kong, holder/beneficiary of codenamed accounts of 'Tulip,' 'Lotus' and 'Mont Blanc' (these are accused numbers 11, 12 and 13 respectively), and certain public servants of the government of India.

Censors Ban Video News Report on Uttar Pradesh

91AS0468A New Delhi PATRIOT in English
12 Dec 90 p 5

[Article: "'Bomb-Times' Banned"]

[Text] "Bomb-Times," a video news story exposing the alleged collusion between politicians, political parties, police officials and administrators with illegal firearms manufacturers in Uttar Pradesh, has been banned by the censor, reports UNI.

The 10-minute news story, shot last fortnight by the "Observer News Channel" video magazine in five cities and 10 interior villages of Uttar Pradesh, was screened to newsmen in the Capital on Tuesday by video news magazine presenter Vinod Dua.

In the film the camera focuses on illicit firearms factories "which dot the entire state of Uttar Pradesh," supplying firearms to politicians, political parties, criminal gangs, thugs and even policemen.

Mr. Dua said Delhi Regional Censor Board Chairman Kamla Mankekar and member Pramod Bhardwaj yesterday asked the producers to delete the entire episode from the second issue of the video fortnightly.

"No reasons were given by them (the censors) for taking this decision after sitting over the video cassette for four days," he said.

Besides the interiors of the State, the news story was shot in Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad, Varanasi and Etawah. It shows the arms manufacturers in the very act of making crude bombs and firearms.

The story also reveals the secret firearms factories in Kanpur which manufacture sophisticated weapons like hand-grenades, used by the army and security forces.

It quotes the arms manufacturers as saying that policemen frequently "purchase" these arms when they have to "show arrests" of certain people and provide to courts the "evidence" of armament seized from the arrested person.

Mr. Dua said the video producers would challenge the ban orders by the censors on "bomb-times." It was yet to be decided whether to challenge the orders in the Press Council of India or before a court of law.

Mr. Dua said the "NEWS CHANNEL" was exploring the possibility of presenting a petition jointly with other video news magazines, like "NEWSTRACK" and "KALCHAKRA" before the appropriate authorities against the allegedly "whimsical" ways of the censor board.

He said the video newsmagazine industry would like to know what were the criteria for banning or passing a particular footage, what was the relevance of the censor board, how the censorship authorities made sure that the film-makers complied by their directions, and finally, what was the machinery with the censor board for ensuring that only the approved version of the news story was screened.

Meanwhile, "KALCHAKRA" Executive Editor Vineet Narain on Tuesday alleged that the Aligarh Police authorities impounded the U-Matricapes and debarred the reporting team for covering the aftermath of the riots.

Mr. Narain said in a statement that the 'KALCHAKRA' reporting team was released from detention only after 2230 hrs. Among those detained was a woman.

Assurances on Test Range Termed 'Hoax'

91AS0440A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
1 Dec 90 p 5

[Text] Bhubaneswar, 30 November: The "victory rally," which the Balasore Janata Dal MP [Member of Parliament], Samarendra Kundu, had planned at Baliapal early this month to celebrate the "shifting" of the National Test Range (NTR) project did not take place as the Baliapal people still do not believe that it has been withdrawn from their area.

Mr Kundu's interpretation of a short letter written to him by the former Prime Minister, Mr V.P. Singh, only a couple of days before his government's fall on 7 November is not shared by others. Mr Singh's letter said, "In view of the state government's views in the matter (that the test range project be shifted elsewhere), alternative sites will be examined within the overall interest of the country."

Mr Kundu has argued that the former Prime Minister did take a decision to shift the project from Baliapal, but few have believed this. It is pointed out that there is absolutely no suggestion in Mr Singh's letter that the Centre had finally decided to change the site. The letter, on the other hand, could mean that the Union government would revert to Baliapal in the absence of any other suitable site. The Centre has so far felt that Baliapal is the most suitable location for the missile-launching project.

What has particularly led to doubts about Mr Kundu's claim is that Mr Singh's letter was received at a time when his government's exit was imminent. The National Front government had till then been totally insensitive to the repeated pleas the state Janata Dal leaders to shift the project site.

The Janata Dal(S) MP from Orissa, M.A.N. Singh Deo, has described as a hoax the claim that the site will be shifted from Baliapal. In a statement, Mr Singh Deo has accused Mr Kundu of misleading the Baliapal residents and has pointed out that Mr V.P. Singh had never agreed to it.

The Baliapal residents, who have been agitating against the location of the test range in the lush green region and their resultant displacement from there, have still kept the no-entry checkpoint intact at Kaipada, the entrance to the proposed site. The checkpoint had been put up by the test range resistance committee six years ago to keep away government officials sent to acquire land for the project.

Papers Report Developments in Assam

President's Rule Imposed

IAS/437A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 29 Nov 90 pp 1, 13

[Article by Prasun Sonwalkar]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 November—In a move with far-reaching implications for the north-east, the Centre today imposed President's rule in Assam, declared the entire state as disturbed and outlawed the secessionist United Liberation Front of Asom (ULFA) currently at the root of the instability in the sensitive north-eastern border state.

With this, the tenure of the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) government came to an abrupt end at a time when the term of the state assembly was to expire on 8 January. The state assembly, however, has been kept under suspended animation. The development sets at rest speculations about the likelihood of holding the controversial assembly and parliamentary elections in the state next month.

The state governor, Mr D.D. Thakur, who sent a damning report on the law and order situation to the Centre yesterday, took over the reins of the administration today and was assisted by two senior officers well versed with the north-east, Mr P.P. Srivastava and Mr J.P. Gupta. The two advisors reached Guwahati this morning. They were instrumental in bringing about an end to the insurgency in Tripura through the TNV [Tripura National Volunteers] accord of September 1988.

A spokesman of the Union home ministry here said Central rule was imposed through the early morning presidential proclamation under article 356 in order to

improve the law and order situation in the state so that the electoral exercise could be held in a peaceful atmosphere. Assam was classified as a disturbed area under the Disturbed Areas Act.

Along with the ULFA, the pro-Beijing National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) has also been declared an unlawful association under the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act. The NSCN has been at the root of continuing insurgency in Nagaland and the hill districts of neighbouring Manipur. The banning of the NSCN meets a long-standing demand of the Manipur government. The Nagaland government, however, has all along been averse to such a move.

This is the fourth time that Assam has been brought under Central rule and the second time in recent times that the state has not held the electoral process. During the November 1989 general election too, the process could not be conducted in view of the controversy over the electoral rolls. Today's development was widely feared to bring the ULFA, AASU [All Assam Students' Union] and the AGP in violent confrontation with authority during the tenure of Central rule.

The home ministry spokesman said the law and order situation in the state was pretty bad due to the unchecked activities of ULFA. According to him, kidnappings and extortion had become the order of the day and the vital tea industry had been seriously affected by the depredations of the secessionist outfit. The state chief minister, however, has been maintaining that the law and order situation was under control.

Today's developments marked a classic denouement in a state where the former leaders of the All-Assam Students' Union (AASU) had come to power in a blaze of glory in December 1985 following the signing of the Assam accord. The tenure of the AGP government, however, was marked by several scandals, misbehaviour of some ministers and mishandling of ethnic agitations made worse by political inexperience with overtones of Assamese chauvinism.

The announcement of President's rule early today however, came as a rude shock to the chief minister and other AGP leaders who had been camping in the capital for quite some time to persuade the Chandra Shekhar government to go ahead with the scheduled assembly elections next month. The only indication Mr Mahanta got during his meeting with the Prime Minister yesterday was that the Centre was waiting for the report of the governor on the situation in the state.

Mr Mahanta was claiming to the press after meeting Mr Chandra Shekhar that the Centre was still undecided on the issue. "But now it is clear that we were kept in the dark. I came to know about the Central rule after Doordarshan mentioned it in its morning's bulletin today," he said.

According to him, the deputy prime minister, Mr Devi Lal, had walked out of the meeting of the cabinet

committee for political affairs yesterday morning when he reportedly realised that he was the only one favouring the holding of elections in the state while others, including Mr Chandra Shekhar, reportedly were in favour of imposing Central rule.

Besides the state governor recommending President's rule, several political parties had favoured a brief spell of Central rule during which the ULFA could be contained, if not neutralised, before holding the elections. Prominent among the parties favouring such a measure was the Congress, whose frontline leader, Mr Hiteswar Saikia, has much at stake in the assembly elections. The co-ordination committee set up by the Congress and the Janata Dal(S) comprising Mr Chimanbhai Patel and Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao had also advised the government to impose Central rule.

Issuing a statement on the ULFA and its activities, an official spokesman said a total of 113 persons had been killed by the outfit during the last four years. The victims included 58 political workers and 19 government officials. The districts where the ULFA was active were Tinsukia, Dibrugarh, Sibsagar, Jorhat and Nagaon on the south bank of the Brahmaputra and Dhemaji, Lakhimpur, Sonitpur, Darrang, Nalbari and Barpeta on the northern bank.

The ULFA had amassed nearly Rs 500 crores from various sources, according to a rough estimate, the spokesman said. As many as 40 training camps of the outfit had been functioning in broad daylight, he added. Not one murder case had been fully investigated by the state authorities and when some arrests took place, designated courts freed them on bail without opposition from the state government.

Troops and para-military forces today cracked down on the secessionist United Liberation Front of Assam, smashing camps and nabbing at least 36 extremists, in a well-coordinated operation launched moments after the imposition of President's rule in the state.

Paramilitary forces, including the Central Reserve Police Force [CRPF] and the Border Security Force, have been deployed in strength in the districts of Tinsukia, Dibrugarh, Lakhimpur, Sonitpur, Dhemaji, Barpeta and Nalbari.

Central forces have also thrown a security ring around the state's capital complex at Dispur. The Janata Bhavan, which houses the ministerial chambers, and the secretariat were closed to visitors and at least two of the outgoing Asom Gana Parishad ministers were turned away from the gates this morning.

In a significant development, Mr H.N. Das, who was shunted out from the post of chief secretary and later placed under suspension by the AGP government only two days ago, was reinstated as the chief of the state bureaucracy today.

The outgoing chief secretary, Mr P.C. Mishra, has been posted as the director-general of the administrative staff college.

Though the imposition of President's rule was imminent, the decision caught people unawares this morning. There were huge crowds thronging the Dispur capital complex to find out the developments. Educational institutions in the state have been closed for two days as a precaution against any incidents of violence.

In view of threats to judges of designated courts constituted under the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (prevention) Act, a designated court has been set up in Guwahati with jurisdiction over the entire state.

The political reactions to the imposition of President's rule in Assam were on predictable lines. The outgoing home minister, Mr Bhrigu Kumar Phukan, and the president of the Osmani faction of the United Minorities Front, Mr Golam Osmani, also described the Centre's move as undemocratic.

The president of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, Mr Hiteswa Saikia, who had been campaigning for the imposition of President's rule in the state, welcomed the Centre's decision.

Tea Company Troubles

91AS0437B Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
28 Nov 90 p 4

[Article by Wasbir Hussain; words in italics and boldface as published]

[Text] Doomdooma (Assam), 27 November: The World War II airstrip at Sookering now controlled by the Aviation Research Centre (ARC) looked desolate at a distance. Close by, at Hansara, head office of Unilever's Doomdooma India, rows of abandoned cars greet visitors. These belong to the 10 senior executives who were airlifted from this airstrip in a commando-type top secret operation on 8 November.

The company has put up notices in all its seven tea gardens and three factories declaring the temporary suspension of operations and saying that the executives had to be evacuated as it was not willing to concede to the "unjust, illegal and unlawful" extortion demands by militants.

According to the Tinsukia district magistrate, Mr B.K. Gohain, 10 of the executives who had earlier chosen to stay at their respective gardens were asked formally to leave by the company on 15 November. They were forced to leave against their wishes, Mr Gohain told visiting newsmen at Tinsukia yesterday.

Top leaders of the ruling AGP suspect a "conspiracy" behind Doomdooma India's air evacuation, particularly its subsequent directive asking those who stayed back to leave station.

A "no vacancy" sign on a huge locked gate, manned by a lone securityman greeted us last night at the company's Beesakopie tea factory, said to be among Asia's most modern. "None of our *sahabs* are here right now. Only CRPF men are here," the security man said. Dr P.K. Das, executive director of Doomdoo India, is reported to have resigned following the evacuation, although no formal confirmation could be obtained from the company immediately. Dr Das was also the manager of the 1,190-hectare Beesakopie estate.

So far, the 6,000 permanent labourers in the seven Doomdoo gardens (with a total of 2,761 hectares under tea) have not been affected at all despite the suspension of normal operations. At the head office at Hansara, an accounts official said the management had directed them to maintain normal payments to the workers. The company's local banker, Golap Rai Hunlal and Co. of Doomdoo, has also been directed to meet all statutory obligations as well as to pay wages and salary and rations to the workers and staff. The latest payments were made last Friday.

Workers unsure: A sense of despondency has descended on the workers who are not sure how long the company would continue paying them wages without work. The most severely-affected are the nearly 3,000 casual labourers who have been deprived of their wages since work stopped on 8 November. Under normal circumstances these workers would have been employed until the plucking season ended in mid-December. The company has made it clear that it would continue discharging their financial and other responsibilities only "for the time being."

The labourers and trade unions have sought "full security" from the Assam government. At Raidang, where one of the Doomdoo gardens is located, a local member of the Intuc-affiliated Assam Cha Majdoor Sangha (ACMS), Mr Rasi Nag, said the workers would continue to work as usual in the estates and do everything possible to keep the gardens functional.

"But there would be enough bloodshed if our payments are stopped and the workers conspire to declare lockouts in the gardens," Mr Nag, who is an engine driver, said. "If the ULFA had threatened them (executives), they should have told us (workers). We would have provided them with protection. After all, the ULFA also comprise good people."

A local member of another trade union, the Bharatiya cha Majdoor Sangha, Mr Surumani Bhakta, also wants the company to resume operations and said that they have submitted a memorandum to the state government for security to the company officials. "But, so far, we are not facing any problems as the company is looking after our workers well and payments are being made on time," he said.

DM's [District Magistrate] request being considered: High undercurrents of tension can be sensed at the gardens, as the fear of wages being stopped any day is

strong. On 13 November, the Tinsukia district magistrate sent a message to the Doomdoo India managing director, Mr Dipak Sen, in Calcutta, formally requesting the executives to return and resume normal operations.

Mr Gohain said he has specifically said in his message that the company would be solely responsible for any labour unrest that may erupt in the absence of its officials. He said he had received a reply from the company seeking "full protection" and saying that it was "considering" a possible resumption of normal operations.

Janata Dal Reaction

91AS0437C Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
28 Nov 90 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 28 November (PTI): The Janata Dal today strongly opposed the imposition of President's rule in Assam and said it is obvious that the Congress(I) has "dictated this authoritarian course to the present puppet government."

The party spokesman, Mr S. Jaipal Reddy, said, "We are totally opposed to the sudden and unilateral decision of the Chandra Shekhar government both on constitutional and practical grounds."

"It is shocking that such a draconian step has been taken without consulting Opposition parties or trying to evolve a national consensus," he said.

Mr Reddy said, "We are aware that conditions in Assam are not normal and security could not be provided to various sections of the people. But if this abnormality became a pretext for postponement of elections then a dangerous constitutional precedent has been set."

"We have seen that President's rule does not improve law and order situation both in Punjab and Kashmir. The Centre's decision proves that we refuse to learn from experience and allow ourselves to be guided by political expediency," he added.

The former information and broadcasting minister, Mr P. Upendra, said the imposition of President's rule in Assam was undemocratic, "unconstitutional and unwarranted" and extended the Telugu Desam's support to the AGP in its fight for the restoration of democracy and early elections in the state.

CPI-M Reaction

91AS0437D Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
28 Nov 90 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 28 November: The CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] Politburo today criticised the Chandra Shekhar government for dismissing the Assam government and dissolving the State Assembly and said, "this is a wrong step and will not help in bringing normalcy in the state."

In a statement it said, "Removing the state government and imposing President's rule will provide a handle to those forces who want to encourage divisiveness and chauvinism in the state."

While criticising the Centre's decision, the CPI(M) also attacked the performance of the AGP government and said, "the failure of the state government to curb the activities of the ULFA has disrupted normal life, business and trade activities in many parts of the state and caused insecurity among the minorities."

It further said, "the CPI(M) had urged the previous National Front government also to ensure that adequate steps were taken to protect the life and property of the citizens. Such steps were necessary to create conditions for holding the Assembly elections."

Panthic Panel Continues Threats to Media

91AS0486A Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
22 Dec 90 p 1

[Article by Sankarshan Thakur]

[Text] New Delhi, 21 December: The Sohan Singh Panthic committee has mounted more pressure on the print and electronic media in Punjab by threatening to "proscribe and blackout all Brahminical news" from the state.

In a fresh decree issued last Tuesday, the committee said by publicising only the "pro-government line"—a line which it calls "censored"—journalists, news agents and others employed by media organisations were placing their lives in "grave peril."

The three-page committee press note also threatened to "disrupt and destroy" communication networks of Doordarshan and All India Radio (AIR) through specially recruited marijuare (suicide) squads.

The new diktat comes on the heels of an already existing "code of conduct" for the Punjab media under which some of the state's newspapers are already chafing. They are made to publish every propaganda item that the Panthic committee wants—the "open letter" written in July by the Gen A.S. Vaidya assassins, Harjinder Singh Jinda and Sukhjinder Singh Sukha, took the better part of an entire page in *THE TRIBUNE* and the editor of the paper's Hindi edition had to print a front-page apology for not carrying the letter in full and attending a function organised by the Hind Samachar group of Jalandhar, which has been a special target.

The newspapers are forced to preface Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale's name with "Sant," Harjinder Singh Jinda and Sukhjinder Singh Sukha have to be called "Bhai," the word "Terrorists" is taboo, they have to be called militants or freedom fighters.

In Jalandhar and Amritsar, some newspapers have also been forced to print front-page pictures of all the terrorists killed under the label of martyrs. Even Doordarshan

and AIR have now begun mentioning terrorists as "militants" or "kharkoos," the Punjabi equivalent for militants.

Every news organisation, every journalist has been sent copies of the "code of conduct." Anyone straying from the code gets a threat-letter slipped under the door next morning.

The latest pressnote, signed by all five members of the Panthic committee, has decreed that all news items against the militants' activities amount to censorship by the "Brahminical" government of India. It says: "Was it not Panthic committee's magnanimity that it was tolerating baseless and misguiding news items about its struggle carried by the government media? How can the committee tolerate the lies of the Brahminical government to be published and broadcast or telecast, whereas the truth about the militants was suppressed?"

It further congratulates government officials who had done away with English and Hindi and taken to Punjabi.

It also justifies the non-availability of government advertisements to Hindi newspapers and says, "When the committee is convinced that the Hindi culture no longer poses a threat to the Punjabi culture, language or religion, the releasing of ads to Hindi papers could perhaps be considered."

Television Programs to Counter Communalism

91AS0404B Bangalore *DECCAN HERALD* in English
31 Dec 90 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 30 December (UNI)—The Doordarshan will soon start telecasting cultural programmes designed to promote secularism and enhance tolerance among believers of different faiths. Information and Broadcasting Minister Subodh ant Sahay said today.

Presenting "harmony awards 89" to journalists, stage artistes and script writers here this evening Mr Sahay said his ministry was under pressure that TV should feature serials relating to all religions.

He, however, said one could not ignore that the Ramayana and Mahabharata recently serialised on the electronic media had evoked great interest in the people.

But this is enough now. We have to show such programmes which could effectively counter the growing communalism which is a bigger threat to the country than the terrorism in Punjab and Kashmir."

Mr Sahay said the media, could play more effective role in maintaining communal harmony than the security personnel whose deployment often led to resentment and anguish.

He deplored that some reporters were "swept off the feet" during the coverage of recent events at Ayodhya and their wrong reporting led to riots and cost human lives besides rupturing the society.

Some reporters covering for TV and the radio also succumbed to the communal sway and lost objectivity, he said.

He quoted some instances when the electronic media relayed the killings of some people in the hospital and by the police bullet.

Complimenting those journalists who always remained objective in the face of growing communal threat Mr Sahay said their working was becoming more difficult day by day as at certain places, they were sandwiched between communalists and terrorists.

Issuing of "code of conduct" for the press by militants in Punjab particularly was another challenge before the press and the people, he said.

The awards carrying a citation, a plaque and Rs [rupees] 10,000 in cash for a winner team were instituted by the Organisation of Understanding and Fraternity chaired by Mr Sanjay Dalmia.

IRAN

Khorasan, Soviet Turkmen Republic Sign Cooperation Pact

91AS0456B *Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English* 14 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] Mashhad, Khorasan Prov., (IRNA)—Khorasan Province of Iran and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic signed an agreement on border exchanges and cooperation here Saturday.

The agreement was signed by a 15-member Turkmen delegation and provincial officials here. The Turkmen delegation let for home at the end of a three-day stay during which they also visited the holy shrine of Imam Reza (PBUH), the eighth Imam of the household of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) here.

Based on the agreement, the two border provinces of Iran and the Soviet Union will cooperate in diverse areas including agriculture, water resources and irrigation, the environment, mulching, solar energy, protection of cultural heritage, seismology, linguistics, literature and the humanities.

The agreement also provides for regular, reciprocal monthly trips by officials and experts in the said areas to Mashhad of Iran and Ashkhabad of Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic.

The two provinces are also to organize common border markets along border areas on Serakhs, Lotfabad, and Bajgiran.

Last year one border agreement which greatly facilitated travel across Iran-Soviet borders on both sides of the River Aras was signed between Iran and the Soviet Union. The agreement was followed by several other cultural agreements between Azerbaijan Province of Iran

and a Soviet neighbor province of the same name. They have been due, in part, to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika and glasnost.

The River Aras provides a natural border between Iran's north western province of Azerbaijan and a Soviet Azerbaijan Republic.

Iran also has common borders with the Soviet Union province of Turkmen which neighbors Iran's Khorasan Province.

Meanwhile, foreign minister of the Soviet Turkmen Republic Gholiov discussed the idea of increased cultural cooperation with Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance Hojjatoleslam Mohammad Khatami here Sunday.

Khatami stressed the desirability of expanding relations between the Islamic Republic and the Muslim peoples of the Soviet Union and said "we are keen to have ties with countries sharing borders with Iran."

He added that Iran was ready for expansion of cultural ties with Turkmenia including the exchange of university students, professors, and tourists.

Gholiov in reply called for the exchange of cultural and art groups between the two countries and ways to promote the Persian language in Turkmenia

"We intend to teach Persian at our schools, for which we need the assistance of the Islamic Republic of Iran," he added.

Turkmenia, which covers parts of greater Khorasan and Khwarezm shares close historical-cultural ties with Iran, and was annexed by Czarist Russia in the closing years of the last century.

Tehran Deputy Mrs Behruzi Comments on Temporary Marriages

91AS0455A *Tehran RESALAT in Persian* 6 Jan 91 pp 1, 10

[Interview with Majles deputy Maryam Behruzi; date and place not specified]

[Text] The exalted master Martyr Motahari says: "I ask you, in view of this, how should we approach the [physical] nature and instinct? Is [physical] nature willing to postpone our maturity because our life circumstances in today's world do not permit us to marry at ages 16 and 18, and put sexual instincts out of our minds until we complete our education?"

Are young people willing to undergo a period of "temporary monasticism" and endure severe pressure and mortification until the means for marriage are found? Assuming a young person is willing to accept temporary monasticism, will nature be willing not to cause the heavy and dangerous psychological consequences that

are produced by the prevention of acting on one's sexual instincts, which have been revealed by contemporary psychoanalysis?

There are only two options. We can leave the young people to themselves without bringing them to their senses, permitting a boy to get satisfaction from hundreds of girls and a girl to have illicit relations with tens of boys and having several abortions, effectively accepting sexual communism. After permanent marriage, will boys and girls who have had many such unrestricted relations as students become men of life and family women?

The second option is temporary and free marriage for the nation. In the first instance temporary marriage limits the woman so that she would not be a wife to two people at the same time. It is clear that limiting the woman, like it or not, necessarily limits the man. For every woman who belongs to a specific man, there is a man who belongs to a specific woman.

In his book *Marriage and Morals*, the famous English philosopher Bertrand Russell says "...if we think correctly, we will realize that prostitution preserves family virtue and the purity of our women and girls." This is the Western formula to deal with the danger of men and women who are not able to marry permanently, and that [temporary marriage] is the formula Islam has proposed. If this formula were applied and a group of unfortunate women were assigned to the performance of this social responsibility, would the woman then reach her true position and human dignity?

In the third installment of RESALAT's inquiry on temporary marriage, we will read together the views of Ms. Maryam Behruzi, Tehran Majles deputy.

[RESALAT] What is your view of Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani's recent comments?

[Behruzi] In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. What is clear is that with the special intelligence he has, Mr. Rafsanjani always discusses issues that will open the way for society, and he said that the theologians, the clergy and the experts are discussing and exchanging views on temporary marriage to guide the people and bring them to a general and constructive conclusion.

Praise God, there have been discussions and this matter of temporary marriage has been a tumultuous topic in families, the Majles and in gatherings, sometimes ending in humor and joking, and in some places, because of lack of respect for the virtues and benefits of this divine wisdom, it has even led to verbal clashes. Of course it is possible that sometimes personal interference and taste, and citing as proof the behavior of ignorant people who have abused this law, may have caused doubts, but in general Mr. Rafsanjani wants to solve this problem and bring the matter to a proper conclusion. I hope that his views and aims, which are nothing other than making use of the useful and liberating commands of Islam, will

definitely be implemented. Of course it must be kept in mind that the general Islamic view of marriage is permanent marriage, but temporary marriage is an alternative to prevent many social problems.

[RESALAT] In your view, why has this divine tradition faded over the centuries?

[Behruzi] The reason for this must be sought in improper interpretations of this command and abuses of this tradition throughout history. Another reason must be seen as the mentality of the people. In this regard they have taken the law (temporary marriage) as benefitting men and their passions, and hurting women.

These interpretations have caused these traditions to be abolished, the reason being the inappropriate and unregulated use of temporary marriage, because due to these abuses so many women have been left homeless and so many children have been left without supervision. There is also the influence of wrong foreign culture which has opened ways to deviation for young people and removed indecency from sin.

These all were and are the factors giving a bad reputation to temporary marriage. Yet if we have an Islamic culture, we must realize that this law is to protect the dignity of man and woman and public and family modesty, and if we make civil laws of the religious commands that exist for this case, then the men and women of society will feel secure and ultimately there will be no problem. With the situation that now exists, however, temporary marriage is such a bitter and deadly poison that no one is willing to think about it.

[RESALAT] Some people think that temporary marriage makes men lascivious, and this is a form of sexual irresponsibility in the guise of religious law. What is your view in this regard?

[Behruzi] People like this are not familiar with the commands of temporary marriage, and unchaste behavior which is quite prevalent and disgusting in the world now, is nothing but an insult to the woman. In some countries girls are even traded and bought and sold, and this is the ultimate in slavery and insult to the lofty position of women.

In Europe, America and superficially advanced nations, the woman is nothing more than merchandise, and in countries like this which promote the superficial material life, they portray the woman as a doll and a piece of merchandise, and finally make use of her sexually. When we look at the situation in the Persian Gulf, we realize that the woman's role is no more than a means. So far they have brought tens of thousands of women from the Philippines, Egypt and elsewhere for the American soldiers, and this is precisely the condition of women in the Western system, and their thinking is lascivious and sexual. Women in these systems are no more than a means, and all their talk is nothing but sloganeering. At those annual meetings, the most famous of which is the World Union of Parliamentary Women, the discussion is

always about this subject and they wonder what happened to the proclamation of human rights and equality between men and women? They now realize and have understood that all these slogans were to delude the women, and in general it is evident that throughout history women have been a means for the lust and to satisfy sexual urges. Islam does not see women this way. Islam's view of men and women is a humane and very lofty one, especially for women who are "mothers" and the ones who convey values to society. To prevent these insults and irresponsibility and to protect the personality and interests of women, Islam has given these commands, and in addition to the command to marry, it has also given much counsel in this regard.

The Koran says that no structure is dearer to God than marriage and the foundation of the family. The extensive commands that Islam has for women, men and children show the truth that God wants to protect the character of women and if permanent marriage is not possible for any reason, then there are also other alternatives so that insulting use will not be made of women.

When we look at the commands of Islam, we see that these commands are more in the interest of women than men. Due to negative propaganda and wrong practices, however, some have concluded that these commands hurt women, yet it is not so (there is no harm and no harmful effect in Islam). If we pay close attention, we see that the commands of Islam are replete with benefits for people, whether men or women.

As our late Imam said, "Islam has not favored men as much as women, and God knows that Islam has not served men as much as women."

If temporary marriage is done based on the commands of Islam with the aim of divine marriage and in the course of preserving public chastity, it is quite acceptable, and if it is recorded in the way stated by the president of the republic, it will then be very useful and constructive.

There are a number of benefits for women in temporary marriage. When a child comes into the world, the father is known, the expenses are known, and with this law corruption and those insults and irresponsibilities are prevented. These are quite important. It is not true that a woman can enter into a temporary marriage every day, and clearly those undesirable effects that come about from illicit activities in society are not to be found in temporary marriage.

In my view, first the culture of Islam must be explained to the people and in the same process proper laws must be made, marriages must be recorded, and in this connection interests and rights must be taken into consideration for women. Along with these things the harmful effects and corruption from religiously unlawful acts must be explained to the people so they will know the interests and benefits of temporary marriage. Our people must answer the question, where the choice is between adultery and temporary marriage, which is to be chosen? Which of these is in the interest of women and protects

the interest and personality of women? If this comparison is made properly, no Muslim, even those opposed to it, will say that adultery is better than temporary marriage. Here we realize that temporary marriage is the guardian and protector of the interest of women and that it prevents the harm that exists for women and ultimately for society.

[RESALAT] In conclusion, if you have something to say about temporary marriage, please do so.

[Behruzi] In my belief the rich culture of Islam must replace wrong and non-Islamic cultures and practices. In the Islamic government we must take the best approach possible to the commands and saving laws of Islam. Is it possible that the divine traditions, all of which are aimed at protecting the rights of human beings, whether women or men, and especially women, could be harmful? We must say, "Islam in itself has no defects, any defect that exists is in our Islamic practice." I believe that if the benefits of temporary marriage are explained and if the ways to permanent marriage are also opened more than before, and if the conditions for permanent marriage are made easier, we will no longer need temporary marriages. The public culture in society concerning marriage must be changed, and the consumer and comfort-seeking mentality must be eliminated from marriage at the outset. In this way it will be easier to form families and if conditions are not suitable then the young people should practice chastity and adopt patience and piety, and avoid the forbidden behavior. If cases arise where permanent marriage is not possible, then temporary marriage would be the answer.

Non-Oil Exports Earn \$736 Million

91AS0456A Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL
in English 9 Jan 91 p 8

[Text] Tehran, 8 Jan (IRNA)—Iran earned \$736m by exporting 16 million tons of non-oil goods during the first nine months of the current calendar year (to end 21 March).

According to a report released by the Customs Office, the figure showed an increase of 5.2 percent in terms of value and 87.9 percent in weight compared to the corresponding period last year.

The weight increase was due to a significant increase in the export of construction materials, decorative stone slabs, minerals and salt, it said.

Hand-woven carpets weighing 6,000 tons and worth rials 16.5 billion accounted for 32.16 percent of the total exports, it added.

Pistachios were the only major item exported during the period, fetching the country rials 9.8 billion, it said.

Western Tehran was the leading customs office with 28.69 percent of the export share, followed by Kerman and Bandar Abbas with 18.98 and 16.56 percent respectively.

Death Sentence May Be Lifted for Drug Traffickers

91ASO365A Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI
in Persian 2 DEC 90 p 3

[Open Letter by the Secretary General of the Drug Enforcement Agency Addressed to Galindo Pohl]

[Text] News Department—After publication of the biased report of Galindo Pohl, special envoy of the U.N. Human Rights organization to Iran, Mr. Mokhtar Kalantari, General Commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee and the Secretary General of the Drug Enforcement Agency, made several comments about the report in an open letter presented below:

Mr. Galindo Pohl: Since the execution of drug traffickers has been one of the issues pointed out in your report and you have protested those executions, I feel obliged to discuss several issues with you in a plain language. I hope you would be alarmed and think a little about the future of societies and especially of the younger generations.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: I am asking whether you and those who think like you want to see any fight against narcotics or not? If you believe that there should be a fight, what is the proper way of fighting? If you believe that our way of fighting against drug traffickers is not right, then, what is the proper way that you have found and enforced successfully?

Mr. Galindo Pohl: In your report you have protested the execution of drug traffickers in the Islamic Republic of Iran. I am asking you whether or not countries in which drug traffickers are not executed, have succeeded in destroying the roots of drugs and their destructive effects?

Mr. Galindo Pohl: Is it not a permission to murder European youth when you allow drugs to be distributed among them even by government authorities? What you have stated, in my opinion, is the same thing as drug traffickers say. You must be aware that by making these kinds of statements you have only made drug traffickers and leaders of mafia networks happier.

In my opinion, untrue statements that you have made in your report have in fact been dictated to you by the mafia drug traffickers. My reason for saying this is that in the early days of the establishment of the Drug Enforcement Agency to fight against drug trafficking and execution of drug traffickers, we received many letters from European countries in which they had criticized us and protested that: "why do you not execute the drug traffickers? Those whom you execute are in fact your political opponents! You execute people without reason and without trial and you execute children under 18 years of age."

Of course, we have responded to many of these letters. Currently these letters are filed in the Drug Enforcement Agency and will be published at the proper time and with the approval of authorities.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: How quickly you forget the truth. I am very sorry that you do not have independence of opinion and whatever others tell you, you reflect [in your statements]. At least take a few minutes and set yourself free and think about what is the truth.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: In your first trip to the Islamic Republic of Iran, you admitted that we have not executed anyone on the basis of his political opposition. Those whom we have executed are drug traffickers, and we are prepared to provide all information regarding them, even the type of narcotics we found, and to put them at the disposal of responsible and independent organizations.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: During my recent trip to the capital city of Italy, Rome, I observed many boys and girls who were dying on the streets because of their addiction to drugs. Do you not believe that killing these young people with drugs is a crime, but execution of drug traffickers is? Are not these young people, who fall victim of illegitimate interests of their rulers and get addicted and die, human beings who have rights too? Are only the drug traffickers human beings, and the mission of the Human Rights organization is to defend them only?

Mr. Galindo Pohl: My question and that of my compatriots is that why should drug traffickers, who for their own interests kill millions of young people in the world, be protected and supported; those smugglers who indeed are the true murderers of the present century?

Mr. Galindo Pohl: I ask you and your colleagues who think like you and do not approve of the execution of drug traffickers, with what kind of punishment can one prevent illegitimate activities of drug traffickers? While drug traffickers make an annual profit of \$500 billion as the United Nations has confessed, are they going to give up this business?

You and your friends should know that no matter what you do, such as confiscation of drug traffickers' properties or imprisoning them, it is not possible that they refrain from their activities, unless their life is threatened. This is something that the entire world has experienced. If a drug trafficker knows that he would lose his life because of his activities, he would certainly refrain from committing this crime.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: Let me ask another question. Which country in the world can you name that has succeeded in the solving drug problem or at least in reducing the amount of drug trafficking without resorting to execution of smugglers? Definitely none. In European countries where the consumption of drugs increases day by day, the authorities have failed in this struggle despite possessing all technological and scientific means. The reason must be found in nothing else but in the fact that government authorities in these countries are involved in the distribution of drugs. We have convincing documents and evidence to prove this claim.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: If these countries wanted to have narcotics disappear from the face of the earth, certainly they could easily end the existence of this deadly material in one year.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: What are you talking about? You protest that we execute drug traffickers. We execute traffickers so that they would not smuggle drugs to Europe. Eighty percent of our struggle against drug traffickers is in the interest of European countries. You should know that they do not care about their own youth even to this extent.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: We can easily take measures to prevent distribution of narcotics in our own country, but allow these materials to be exported to the European countries.

If those gentlemen who advocate human rights want narcotics to be exported to European countries and their youth get killed with those materials, they should announce this to their people, so that we do the same thing.

Mr. Galindo Pohl: At the conclusion you should know that, as a soldier currently fighting against drug trafficking, I declare that it is possible that our country would decide not to take any measure, such as execution, against drug trafficking to European countries.

Perhaps within the next year or two we reach a stage that while we prevent the distribution of narcotics in our own country, we refrain from execution of drug traffickers who carry drugs to Europe. Let me put it in a more plain language. We would execute those who distribute these materials only within our own country, and exempt those who send drugs to Europe. I believe in that case you and your friends will be very happy, although you will not be able to provide a convincing answer to European people, especially the youth of Europe.

Mokhtar Kalantari

Secretary General of the Drug Enforcement Agency

PAKISTAN

U.S. Seen As 'Manipulator'

91AS0355B Karachi JANG in Urdu 4 Nov 90 p 5

[Article by Nussarallah Khan]

[Text] Home Minister Mian Zahid Sarfaraz remarked in a press conference recently that in case the American government does not restore aid to Pakistan, Pakistan, too, will not pay back the American debt. What Mian Zahid Sarfaraz meant was that if America does not restore Pakistan's aid, Pakistan will also be forced to stop repayment of the American aid and thereby both countries will suffer.

In fact, America dispenses this aid as charity and it charges interest on this charity and we have been

repaying it as our own charity. The funny thing is that the American economic aid comes with conditions attached. Apart from receiving interest from its debtor countries, America also uses the aid to further its own interests and thus debtor countries are reduced to the status of an American colony. America expects from its debtor countries that they should bring into power parties and leaders whose allegiance is more to America and the American government than to their own country. In other words, the American aid will be restored only when the American government is convinced that the people of the debtor countries have voted or have been made to vote into power a party that will be beholden to America and whose existence will be in American hands.

Therefore, you have noticed that America stopped its aid to Pakistan at the critical moment when elections were in progress in Pakistan and, moreover, when Pakistan's economic condition had become especially desperate because of the Gulf crisis. To justify the stoppage of aid, America at first said that this aid will remain stopped until America is convinced that Pakistan is not building an atom bomb and until, as required by law, the American president issues a clearance certificate in this regard. Therefore, this time, the American president took time in issuing the clearance certificate and then the American rulers and their spokesmen said that American aid will not be restored until such a time when elections are held in Pakistan and the democratically elected government is installed, because America—per its Constitution—does not give aid to undemocratic countries. America is a strange international joker of a country and also a mad house. Believing the martial law regime of the late Ziaul Haq to be a democratic government, it gave it unstinted aid. Perhaps it believes that even though America is a democratic country, if a democratic country has to deal with an undemocratic country and if it can make a cat's paw of it, in that case, even if martial law in such a country is considered democratic martial law, there is nothing funny in it. Similarly, when the military brought Bhutto into power and he became chief martial law administrator, America, under those conditions, gave his government full support because, initially, Bhutto was on intimate and friendly terms with the American government, and America believed that he would protect American interests in his country. When elections began in Pakistan, it was reported that America would definitely see to it that no fraud is committed in these elections and only when America is convinced that no fraud has been committed, will there be any consideration on the question of restoring aid.

Foreign observers who came to observe the elections have said, in no uncertain terms, that they did not come across any fraud and that the elections were foolproof and there was no scope for fraud in the elections. The People's Republic of China has said that the elections are Pakistan's internal affair. Now, who will explain to China that the internal affair of an American debtor country is an internal affair of the American government

as well. Therefore, America gives aid to other countries so that with this aid the internal affairs of those countries becomes America's affair.

Recently, Ahtzaz Hasan was very upset at foreign observers' remark that elections in Pakistan were fair and that there was no fraud there of any kind. Ahtzaz Hasan remarked in this connection that fraud happened in the afternoon of the election day and the observers had gone there in the forenoon. Ahtzaz Hasan did not laugh at his own remarks because he is a very disciplined person but we are sure that on hearing his remarks, foreign observers must have burst into laughter. Did Ahtzaz Hasan expect that foreign observers should have remained at his beck and call and when he said, "Come! Let me show you fraud," they would accompany him or that they should have remained at the polling stations all day long. Another gentleman disclosed that he has got proof of fraud and he is taking it with him to America and he would show it to the American Government. It appears to me that for people of this stamp Pakistan does not mean anything and that their loyalty is more to America than to Pakistan. This is clearly lack of self-respect and lack of shame and such people have no right to live in Pakistan.

Suspension of U.S. Aid Called 'Blessing'

91AS0355C Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Nov 90 p 5

[Article by Nussrallah Khan]

[Text] There was a time was when an average woman used to dress her hair with fragrant oil but nowadays such oil is virtually unavailable. Whichever party assumes the reins of power following the elections will be forced to further pick the people's pockets.

When oil prices are on the rise in all countries like ours, these will increase in our country as well. And when price of oil declines all over the world, its price over here is jacked up by a couple of rupees so that if there has been no increase in production of oil in our country, there should be increase in its price. Just as in Karachi there is not enough water even to wash one's teeth but the water tax keeps rising all the time. Increases of this nature are making people's life unbearable. In this critical condition, America too, has stopped its aid. In the opinion of this columnist, this development is a blessing because through this aid, America had made Pakistan a slave of its foreign policy and had made its foreign policy the corner stone. But now, instead of being a corner stone in the American wall, we will become a corner stone in our own wall against all the imperialist forces. And the Pakistani public also desires the same thing. Now it remains to be seen what our new government desires. The reality is that with stoppage of American aid there will be an end to the commission that our official brokers used to get from America on the sale and purchase of American arms. Consequently these people are not so much worried over halt of American aid as they are over stoppage of their commission. Pakistan does not derive

so much benefit from the American aid as America does from it. It charges so much interest on this aid that in 2-4 years the interest exceeds the aid and while making payments on this interest, Pakistan gets involved in a serious economic crisis. The second benefit to America is that sometimes its aid is subject to conditions of the agreement and sometimes after the agreement. Whenever America so desires, it makes the aid subject to conditions in accordance with its temperament and says, "Look! Mr Pakistan! Our internal affairs are involved in your internal affairs and you should not consider it as your foreign affairs or our foreign interference. Moreover, the arms that we [are] giving you in the form of aid is for decorative purposes only. And use it against that country only which constitutes a threat to us. In other words, with these arms you will only defend us. So far as your defence is concerned, that we will take care of from America by remote control. This means that before using our arms against any of your enemies, you will obtain our prior permission. Concerning your atomic program, even though you keep reassuring us over and over again that you have not built atom bomb so far and you have no intention of building it in the future but we are not convinced by your reassurances and the essential point is not your reassurances but our own believing you or getting convinced. But sometimes we suffer from universal skepticism concerning our own country and our foreign policy." Regarding the question what to do in the event of stoppage of American aid and that we will have to face a very serious economic crisis due to rising cost of oil, there are really only two ways to escape it. One is that our government should prostrate itself before America and beg forgiveness for all sins committed so far and promise to act in the future according to the orders and wishes of America or tell America bluntly that we do not need your aid. For this, go and look for some other stupid and shameless country and leave us alone. Your aid has ruined us; now let us wreck ourselves a little more. In this connection, we can obtain aid from other countries on easier terms. And those countries will be our own who, unlike you, will not make us their satellites and our economic experts will discover such ways to increase the country's income that we may never again need aid from any country. Rather we will be in a position to give aid to America itself.

Because in our country there is a tradition of feudal governments, therefore none of our governments has tackled feudalists. It is possible that now this country's public may have to start a movement in the country to demand that those feudalists, whose income knows no bounds, those should be immediately expropriated. This columnist is sure that the amount of this expropriation will not be less than the aid that America gives us, and thus we could also resolve the crisis that has arisen from oil and the poor people will not have to suffer the burden of more taxes. Because, in our country, whenever anyone is born, our feudal governments spare big landlords and place the entire burden of budget deficit on a handful of poor working men and thus every year they are getting crushed more and more. Moreover, just like the pipeline

of our Karachi city, our government's pipeline is also full of leaks. This is very useful for bureaucracy and nor do our ministers' expenses shrink. To the people they preach simplicity and curb on spending but they use official treasury remorselessly as if it was their personal safe. If, in this connection, the process of accountability continues and government workers and bureaucracy also learn a lesson from past happenings and use caution, this will be good and proper for itself and for the country and the nation. What I mean to say is that if God grants our nation and our rulers even an ounce of self-respect and shame, we can say to America 'Thank you, Darling' and we are washing our hands of this relationship and you can pack and go. To sum up, getting aid from America is like getting AIDS illness from America. American aid is no less fatal and troubling than American AIDS illness.

U.S., Soviets Seen as 'Conspirators'

91AS0352B Karachi JANG in Urdu 19 Nov 90 p 5

[Article by Iqbal Ahmad: "Paper Accuses U.S. and Soviet Union of Conspiracy"]

[Text] During the election campaign the caretaker government and the leaders of IGI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] through their statements and announcements tried to give the impression that People's Party is pro-U.S. and that in pursuit of gaining power it is prepared to forego its views on nuclear program and the Kashmir issue and that as a result of the propaganda and the disputes of the higher leadership of the People's Party, the United States suspended its economic and military aid to Pakistan. Many articles and editorials have been about the suspension of U.S. aid to Pakistan. One of the reasons is that perhaps the United States suspended its aid because of Pakistan's nuclear program and the other being that the aid was suspended at the instigation of People's Party to force the caretaker government to hold elections. To assess the real facts about these two reasons it is necessary to analyze the incidents taking place in the recent past. The readers perhaps would remember that during People's Party first tenure of office after a treaty with France for acquiring nuclear re-processing plant, the United States banned the supply of all kinds of aid between 1977 to 1979. According to the U.S. Government, due to an amendment known as "Sammington" amendment, the U.S. Government cannot provide aid to any country which possesses the capability of making nuclear weapons by importing nuclear technology. But after the revolution in Afghanistan, the United States not only provided economic aid to Pakistan but did not feel any kind of hesitation or hindrance in providing unprecedented military aid to Pakistan as well, despite the fact that there was an authoritarian rule present, and attempts were being made by Pakistan to acquire nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. And in Holland our national hero and famous science scholar Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan was charged with trying to acquire nuclear formula and information. But because the United States, due to its international and regional interests, found it

necessary to provide aid to Pakistan, the U.S. Government did not object to attempts being made by Pakistan to acquire nuclear energy nor to the authoritarian and non-democratic government present in Pakistan, even though the restrictions imposed by "Sammington" amendment were in effect as forcefully as they are today. In accordance with the Constitution the U.S. president has the authority to exempt any country from the restrictions imposed on the aid to be given to them. If the U.S. president issues such a certificate in this connection then such countries can receive military and economic assistance. This is the reason why the United States gives all kinds of military and economic aid to countries like Israel and India who openly make nuclear bombs, at a time when strict constitutional amendment has been introduced into the Constitution known as "Pressler" amendment. But even under this amendment the president has the authority to issue exemption certificate. These facts clearly indicate that decisions can be made on giving or suspending aid based on international or regional interests of the United States. Whenever aid is to be given to some country then the United States does not give any importance as that country's nuclear energy even to its plans to make nuclear weapons and the authoritarian rule in that country. Similarly when the United States does not consider it necessary to give aid to any country then it makes such objections and by taking cover under "Sammington" and "Pressler" amendments, rejects it. It can thus be stated with authority that the recent decision taken to suspend aid to Pakistan has nothing to do either with Pakistan's nuclear program, which is purely for peaceful purposes only to find a way out of the present electric and energy crisis, or to make the inauguration of the elections certain. If there was any proof about the reality of suspending U.S. aid then for the past 10 years during which the United States continued giving military and economic aid to Pakistan, then during this period all the countries that provided aid to Pakistan knew that it was acquiring nuclear energy.

The other reason for suspending the aid, about which the leaders of IGI are making such a big hue and cry, is to make the elections a certainty. At the instigation of People's Party the United States suspended the aid and that Begum Nusrat Bhutto, the chairperson of Pakistan People's Party, had been to the United States to bring about pressure on the U.S. Government. There is no truth in this statement because the undeniable fact is that People's Party or its chairperson or any other leader does not have any linkage with the suspension of U.S. aid. Begum Nusrat Bhutto had been to the United States on a private visit and there was no political purpose to her visit to that country. Neither did she bring about any pressure on the U.S. Government for suspending the aid nor do the U.S. Government or its members make their decision on any one's advice. The allegation and propaganda of the leaders of IGI leaders are not only baseless and contemptuous but at the same time they are ridiculous. As far as People's Party's role or connection is concerned, perhaps even the worst enemies of Pakistan

People's Party will admit that during General Ziaul Haq's worst authoritarian period when the highest leadership of PPP were the target of violence, its workers advocated military and economic aid to Pakistan to be continued.

Now the question as to whether or not suspending the military and economic aid to Pakistan was to make sure that elections are held, the definite reply will automatically come up within the next few weeks. As far as the economic aid or loans from the World Bank or International Monetary Fund are concerned there are strong possibilities that just like in the past after discussions with the newly elected government, after including some new conditions economic aid and loans will start flowing once again. But it is feared that perhaps Pakistan may not get military aid because as I mentioned above the reason for suspending U.S. aid is not to make sure that elections are held in Pakistan. The real reason behind suspending the military aid to Pakistan is the recent summit meeting between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union held in Helsinki, Finland on 9 September 1990. During this meeting both superpowers made historical decisions for stopping the production and spread of weapons in the world. According to international media as a result of these very important and basic decisions the superpowers decided to stop providing weapons to the poor countries of the world including Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Commentary Criticizes Muslim League

91AS05104 Lahore VIEWPOINT in English
10 Jan 91 p. 6

[Text] Last month's Convention of the official Muslim League was meant to recall its founding in 1906—described by Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar as 'a command performance,'—but it was far more a reminder of the Ayub era when military rule was given a democratic camouflage under the quaint Basic Democracies system. Then, as now, a political party was built from the top downward with the Establishment's help, and then assisted by the administration to march to victory at the hustings. The organization's real history shows that it gained mass support only for the short period when it was led by Mohammad Ali Jinnah; his programme and leadership mobilised the masses among India's Muslims and made the creation of Pakistan possible. Since the Quaid's demise, the party has been split into countless factions; and each group finds it necessary to use the party's name to cloak its design of somehow gaining or retaining power—with or without the people's backing. As an essential ritual, therefore, at such gatherings the Quaid's name is often taken, but no honest effort is made to revive his political philosophy or further his concept of Pakistan as a democratic, federal State pledged to guarantee fundamental rights and create an egalitarian society. Perhaps Mohammad Ali Jinnah had a premonition of the Muslim League's decline and fall after Pakistan had been established, because soon after partition he had advised that the Muslim League should be

disbanded and a new national party created in its place. This advice was not accepted by the men whom he had raised to positions of importance, because they had little to offer and wanted to rule the people in the name of a party that had brought them to freedom.

The biggest failing of the Quaid's pygmy successors was that their greed for power blinded them to the distinction between the party and the government and between the government and the State. This strange attitude persuaded Liaquat Ali Khan to declare that those who did not support the Muslim League were enemies of the country. Later civilian or military dictators conveniently adopted the same approach. The present Muslim League seems to follow this undemocratic post-Quaid tradition. Mian Nawaz Sharif made the claim that Pakistan and the Muslim League were part and parcel of each other. The Punjab Chief Minister, making a plea for a Muslim League Workers Welfare Fund, asked the Prime Minister for Government financial help in the matter and even suggested that government should help them to raise an eight-storey building at the premises of the PML House on Davis Road. With well-practised sycophancy, the only resolution adopted at the Lahore Convention was one praising the Prime Minister's policy of formulating an independent foreign policy. In its present phase, the Muslim League has come to power after a carefully-manipulated snap election, and with the help of a large disparate group of coalition partners. The merger of the Junejo and Nawaz Sharif factions—another command performance—has brought the party some semblance of unity, and accession to high offices has given it the strength which attracts the typical Muslim League type of politician who is happy only when the party is in power.

What of the future? It can easily be seen that the Convention Muslim League's bloated size is not a sign of its strength. When Mian Nawaz Sharif spoke of opportunists creeping into the party or said that if he had been sure of IJI's [Islamic Jamhjoori Ittehad] great victory he would have allotted tickets to better candidates, he seemed to realise that its growth was largely artificial. Then, continuing infighting in the Muslim League betrays a total lack of cohesion. Its open squabbles with other IJI parties, and the COP [Combined Opposition parties] leaders' refusal to accept many of its decisions, have added greatly to the prevailing confusion. While the Prime Minister keeps talking of a revolutionary programme to build a modern welfare State, he seems unable to evolve and implement a clear plan. And he is also bogged down in such matters as the demand for a Shariat law that will take away its inherent powers from Parliament and hand over authority in all matters to nominated Shariat courts. It seems quite obvious that the Muslim League can transform itself into a genuine political party only if it decides to abandon the legacy that has been accumulated since it became a hand-maid of authoritarian rulers, and if it can begin to seek guidance from the principles and precepts laid down by the Quaid-i-Azam. Can its present leaders muster the

will and courage to do so? If they cannot or will not change direction, and if other political parties are not able to meet today's challenges, one fears that Pakistan will continue to flounder in the cesspool that has subdued the mainstream of our political life.

Editorial Urges Self-Reliance

91AS0352A Karachi JANG in Urdu 7 Nov 90 p 5

[Editorial: "Self-Reliance Better Than U.S. Assistance"]

[Text] The suspension of U.S. assistance to Pakistan is the most serious of the problems facing the newly elected government in Pakistan. Prime Minister Mian Nawaz Sharif made some very good remarks in this connection. He said that making Pakistan self-reliant on foreign aid will be a part of his policy. At a time when all the stages of election have been completed and the new prime minister has been sworn in, the Assistant Secretary of State Mr. John Kelly has said that the issue of U.S. aid to Pakistan is under consideration and very soon negotiations will begin with the new government on the nuclear program. The way the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State mentioned aid to Pakistan in conjunction with the nuclear program suggests that the United States views Pakistan's nuclear program with suspicion and that the reinstatement of U.S. aid is conditional on Pakistan's assurance that no nuclear weapon will be made. The way the United States has been opposing Pakistan's nuclear program has given rise to serious feelings of hatred in the hearts of the Pakistani people towards the U.S. policy. The people of Pakistan now consider the U.S. policy as an interference in its freedom and security and against its efforts to obtain modern nuclear technology for its security and survival. This poses a serious test for the new government as to how it will protect the nation's dignity and the feelings of the people during the upcoming talks with the United States.

On the other hand IGI [Islamic Democratic Alliance] during its parliamentary session has decided to ask Saudi Arabia for military assistance. It is also believed that every possible assistance will be offered to Saudi Arabia in connection with the Gulf Crisis. We believe that the assurances given by IGI regarding the aspirations and expectations of the nation and the way it has brought to light the policy and measures adopted by the People's Party against the interest dignity of the nation demand that we should not go back. Instead of trying to obtain U.S. aid on unacceptable terms and conditions contrary to national interests and dignity we should follow the policy of relying on ourselves. All unnecessary expenses should be curtailed and a campaign of economic frugality should be launched on the highest level so that new spirit of reliance may be created among the nation and burdened economy may [be] saved. The nation will be ready to give every sacrifice provided the rulers give an exemplary action by their word and deed.

Success Claimed in Short Range Missile

91AS0352C Karachi JANG in Urdu 26 Nov 90 p 5

[Editorial: "Pakistan Successful in Developing Short Range Missile"]

[Text] Pakistani scientists have successfully developed sophisticated ground-to-air missile called "ANZA-SECOND" and now work is underway to make its performance still better. Its initial range is said to be six miles. One of the characteristics of the missile developed in the Kahota Laboratories is that no conveyance is required to carry it to and fro. The Pakistan defensive scientists are trying to make Pakistan self-sufficient in defensive weapons and to reduce its reliance on foreign countries as far as possible. It is the result of this constant endeavor that Pakistan is now capable of making modern weapons and with passage of time it will succeed in improving its range and making it much better. This achievement stresses the importance and necessity for improving scientific education in Pakistan. It is true that we have been giving less attention to scientific education on the national level. Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan has complained that it is unfortunate that in a country with a population of 110 million people there are only a few Ph.D's. In order that Pakistan may achieve success it is important that a very large number of people receive higher education in science and technology. In this context there is very little need to stress its importance and usefulness.

Crime Wave in Sindh Said Continuing

91AS0414A Karachi DAWN in English 30 Dec 90 p 6

[Editorial: "Crime Wave Unabated"]

[Text] The law and order situation in Sindh shows no signs of improving. On the contrary reports from the interior speak of a downward slide, with dacoits getting more daring and indiscriminate than ever before. The latest proof of the worsening situation and the lack of safety on highways was provided by the attack on an Edhi ambulance which was carrying a dead body. The ambulance was attacked by gunmen near Tandojam on Thursday, leaving three people, including a woman, dead on the spot. Two persons injured in the attack later died in a Hyderabad hospital on Friday. Other acts of banditry include the kidnapping of eight people in Sukkur Division and seven in Larkana, the looting of cars, trucks and other vehicles on the National Highway near Sukkur, the murder of a DSP [Deputy Superintendent of Police] and a DIG's [Deputy Inspector General] bodyguard on Mirpurkhas Road near Hyderabad, and the attack on a Matiani police station last Monday. As for the urban areas, there were two bank robberies in Karachi last Thursday, with gunmen decamping with two million rupees; a robbery in the home of an IJI woman leader; the murder of a CIA [Crime Investigation Agency] Inspector's brother; and attacks on two police stations in North Nazimabad and Malir. Then there was

that prolonged strike by jewelers sparked by the kidnapping of a jeweller's son in Karachi. These are crimes which have taken place only in the second half of last week. If one were to take into account murders, kidnappings and dacoities during the entire month, the picture would look frightfully grim.

Since the change on 6 August, the provincial administration has been promising the people a better law and order situation "within three months." However, there is no sign yet of the crime wave abating. There is, of course, a noticeable change of atmosphere so far as ethnic tensions are concerned. The inclusion of the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] in Mr Jam Sadiq's coalition government has had the effect of injecting some sanity into the province's urban-rural relationship and keeping ethnic violence in check. For nearly half a decade now, political violence has been one aspect of Sindh's dismal law and order picture; the other equally nightmarish aspect has been a steady proliferation of common-law offences. The people will heave a sigh of relief only when the government succeeds in controlling both. It is here, however, that one cannot but notice the abject failure of the law enforcement agencies to check the rising tide of crime throughout the province. While bank robbers, dacoits and kidnappers operate with impunity in the urban areas, there are reports of dacoits having unleashed a reign of terror in the interior. As an observer of the crime situation has noted, time was when feudal lords used to harbour criminals and dacoits; now the position has been reversed, and it is the former who are at the mercy of the latter. A segment of industry, too, has been terrorised into submitting to gangs of criminals who demand and collect huge sums as "protection money." A management that refuses to oblige runs the risk of having its goods and personnel intercepted and crops of raw material destroyed. All this, in spite of the presence of the police and Rangers, in addition to factories' own security staff. In fact, there are large parts of the countryside where nothing moves at night for fear on onslaughts by roaming gangs.

Such a bleak scenario runs counter to the hopes aroused by a change of government. The new regime in Sindh is perhaps better placed than any other in the recent past to rid the province of crime. Mercifully absent is also any tension in the relationship with the Army, whose induction in Operation Clean-up during the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] government had led to a bitter controversy over the powers of military contingents. It now remains to be seen whether the Jam administration is able to fully utilise the advantages available to it. What is needed is a concerted, unrelenting drive against criminals until it has achieved its objective. Press reports allege that the dacoits have planted their agents and informers in the police. If this is so, the security forces will never be able to surprise the dacoits in their hideouts and sanctuaries. Which means Operation Clean-up now in progress has little chance of success unless there is, first, a clean-up of the police force and the moles have been weeded out. What is happening in Sindh is much

more than what the word crime ordinarily means; it is a phenomenon that has created conditions of near-anarchy. It cannot be tackled without unbending will and honesty of purpose. Needless to stress, it will ill-serve the province and the nation if the issue is politicised. Crime must be dealt with the way all civilised societies do. Go after the criminals, track them down and bring them to justice, regardless of all other considerations.

SRI LANKA

'Indo-Lanka Relations in 90's Explored

91AS0522A Colombo THE ISLAND in English
21, 22, 23 Jan 91

[Article by Professor Shelton Kodikara; first paragraph is THE ISLAND introduction]

[21 Jan 91 p 4]

[Text] All Tamil groups appear now to be closing ranks on the issue of the repeal of the Sixth Amendment, even those groups which had earlier taken the oath of allegiance in order to enter Parliament in 1988 or the North-East Provincial Council the same year, like the EPRLF [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front], EROS [Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students] (EDF) [Eelam Democratic Front] and the TULF [Tamil United Liberation Front].

As is the case of India's other neighbours, the linkage between internal politics and foreign policy, the pressures of domestic politics on the formulation and implementation of foreign policy and, conversely, of foreign policy on the domestic political process, is crucial to an understanding of contemporary Indo-Sri Lanka relations and of their prospects for the future.

This paper attempts to review the present position in Sri Lankan politics against the backdrop of the withdrawal of the Indian Peacekeeping Force (IPKF) from the island in March 1990, of the new wave of violence which erupted between the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] and Sri Lankan security forces after June 1990, and the LTTE's sudden declaration of a unilateral ceasefire, with effect from 31 December 1990, as well as to assess the future prospects for Indo-Sri Lanka relations in the 1990s in the context of these developments and of the changing South Asian regional strategic environment.

The IPKF experience had many political consequences for Sri Lanka. One of these was the conviction, which is now entrenched in decision-making circles in the government of Sri Lanka and in the minds of most Sri Lankan Tamils, and which now appears to be the feeling even in official circles in New Delhi, that questions concerning the Tamils of Sri Lanka- whether these relate to their security or to devolution of power-must be sorted out by Sri Lankans themselves.

Support

The former chief minister of the North-East Provincial Council, Varatharaja Perumal, who had received the support of the IPKF during his brief tenure of office, was compelled to seek refuge abroad on the departure of the IPKF, and those of his party cadres of the EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front) who remained in the island became the subject of attacks by the rival LTTE. The Council itself has been in abeyance since Varatharaja Perumal and his party colleagues in it unilaterally declared the independence of Eelam on the eve of the departure of the IPKF, making themselves persona non grata to the Government of Sri Lanka, and forcing themselves into exile.

Thereafter, Tamil politics in the Northeast of Sri Lanka took a new turn, with the other Tamil militant groups engaging themselves in a struggle for political power. The fact that the Government of Sri Lanka had been engaging itself in political negotiations with the LTTE since September 1989, when an earlier ceasefire between the LTTE and government security forces had taken effect, gave the LTTE a temporary advantage in this struggle for power, but the ceasefire was broken by the LTTE themselves, in June 1990, for reasons which did not appear convincing.

Significant

The most significant political consequence of the Indian troop withdrawal for the politics of the northeast region, however, had been the political and military ascendancy of the LTTE. The LTTE began by establishing its military ascendancy in the areas which were progressively vacated by the IPKF, wiping out other Tamil militant groups, especially the EPRLF, which had attempted to lay claims to dominance in those areas. The LTTE's military ascendancy in the entire northeast region was tacitly accepted by the government, which had been engaged in talks with the LTTE leadership for more than a year with a view to bringing it to the mainstream of democratic politics in the island.

The basis of the military ascendancy of the LTTE was their refusal to give up their arms even after the IPKF departure. In this they changed their earlier stand that they would have no need to keep their arms any further after the IPKF withdrawal. Their defence of this position was that a premature surrender of their arms might have exposed them to the wrath and revenge of rival militant groups.

But whatever the rationale, the fact that LTTE cadres were armed, combined with the fact that they have always been the most powerful of the Tamil militant groups, gave them an edge in the politics of the northeast region which no other Tamil political party or militant group could match.

In early June 1990, however, the LTTE squandered its favoured position in the Northeast, as well as the confidence reposed in it by the government, by indulging in a

series of provocative actions which ultimately led to a resumption of fighting between their cadres and the government's security forces.

Evident

That the LTTE was already preparing for a war with the government's security forces had already become evident when they started constructing bunkers and fortifying sentry points in the North and East, early in June, and when their cadres, apart from a form of tax-gathering in this region, had resorted to hijacking vehicles and storing foodstuffs.

On 7 June 1990, one soldier of the Sri Lanka Gajaba Regiment died and nine were injured following an attack by the LTTE in Thandikulam, near Vavuniya in the Northern Province.

The LTTE's defence of this wanton act of aggression at a time when LTTE-Government talks were ongoing was that the government had agreed not to move out its forces from barracks without notifying the LTTE. On 11 June, 300 heavily armed Tigers walked into the Batticaloa police station, seized the weapons and asked 280 policemen to clear out. Soon after, the Tigers surrounded nearly all police stations in the Tamil and Muslim areas of Batticaloa and Amparai districts and forced the policemen to surrender. The tigers took some 600 policemen as captives, and 200 of them were reported killed.

The same day, 11 June, the Tigers ambushed a government army vehicle, killing 11 soldiers who were returning to their camp after buying provisions. By evening the Tigers began attacking army camps in the Batticaloa district.

"These events virtually ended the dialogue which had gone on, for more than a year, between the government and the LTTE.

The fact that the LTTE had not formally renounced Eelam, like its refusal to surrender arms, had not prejudiced the LTTE-government dialogue. Nor had the sporadic clashes which had taken place on a minor scale between LTTE cadres and Sri Lankan security personnel, and its efforts at a form of tax-gathering in the northeast spoilt the bona fides of the LTTE.

The government seemed to have gone on the assumption that the present time was a transitional phase in the politics of the northeast, and that matters would normalise with the creation of the provincial police force, and the installation of a new provincial government in the Tamil-speaking areas.

The substance of the talks between the government and the LTTE was not made public, but it is easy to surmise that the continuance of the present merger of the northern and Eastern Provinces would have been a high priority on the LTTE side.

Pre-conditions

The LTTE had made it known that the dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council, the holding of fresh elections to this council, and the repeal of the Sixth Amendment to the Sri Lanka constitution, were the essential pre-conditions for it to enter the political mainstream and work towards the solution of the ethnic question in the island.

It had pledged to allow all Tamil speaking groups and parties to come to the north and east to campaign for these elections, even though surrendering of their arms at this stage "is totally out of the question when the fundamental problems of our people and their security concerns are not resolved." According to Dr Anton Balasingham, the orator of the party, "once the provincial council elections are held and once we have proved to the world that we are the authentic representatives of our people, we will open up negotiations with Sri Lanka with regard to an appropriate political model."

The repeal of the Sixth amendment to the constitution, which declared the advocacy of separatism a treasonable offence, and which required all MPs [Member of Parliament, provincial councillors, Supreme Court and High Court judges, and high officials to take an oath of allegiance to the constitution, was justified on the ground that "there shouldn't be any constitutional constraints to our liberty to articulate our political views" and that it would "help to build confidence and trust among the Tamil people and contribute towards ethnic reconciliation and communal harmony."

All Tamil groups appear now to be closing ranks on the issue of the repeal of the Sixth Amendment, even those groups which had earlier taken the oath of allegiance in order to enter Parliament in 1988, or the North-East Provincial Council the same year, like the EPRLF, EROS (EDF), and the TULF. Their contention is that the amendment is inconsistent with Tamil dignity.

Early in July 1990, the government amended the Provincial councils Act to permit the dissolution of the North-East Provincial Council, and to provide for fresh elections to take place in the region, since this Council had ceased to exist after 1 March, 1990, when the EPRLF and ENDLF [Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front] members of it had made a declaration purporting to create a separate State in the North-East Province calling it the Free and Sovereign Democratic Republic of Eelam.

They had also refused to participate as Members of the Provincial Council in any of the activities of the provincial Council. The repeal of the Sixth Amendment, too, took on a new perspective after the resumption of fighting between the LTTE and the government.

The repeal no doubt figured in the talks between the government and the LTTE, but while the government seemed to have been favourably inclined to consider the repeal, it was constrained by virtue of the fact that it did

not command the required two-thirds majority in Parliament which was necessary for the repeal.

Recent statements of the government, however, appear to indicate second thoughts on the subject in the context of the LTTE's own volte face when it attacked government security forces in the middle of the talks. The view is also increasingly being now expressed that repeal of the Sixth amendment would be tantamount to a tacit endorsement by the government of the separate state, and that oaths of allegiance to the constitution are common features of democratic polities the world over.

Moreover, Sri Lanka's Sixth Amendment is almost identical to the sixteenth Amendment to the Indian Constitution, which was also enacted, in 1963, under secessionist threats to the State which emanated at that time from Tamil Nadu.

Allegiance

In Sri Lanka as in India, the amendments concerned have not in practice prevented parties and groups from advocating separatism, and there is no evidence that the penal provisions contained in the amendments have so far been applied in any particular case.

The question then is the oath of allegiance, in Sri Lanka's case to the unity of the state, which cannot now be retracted without serious injury to the government's public image.

The big question in Sri Lanka's contemporary politics is, why did the LTTE throw away all its chances of a negotiated solution of the Tamil question when the negotiations seemed to be on the brink of success? The LONDON TIMES wrote that "most diplomats in Colombo felt that the government of President Premadasa was making generous concessions to try and reach a peaceful solution and to end Sri Lanka's seven-year civil war," and it quoted one Western diplomat as having said that "the Tigers could have got everything they wanted at the negotiating table."

The new General Secretary of the EPRLF and Jaffna district MP Suresh Premachandran, gave it as his opinion that "the LTTE deceived all those who genuinely attempted to negotiate with them to settle the North's issues amicably," and he expressed the belief that the only way out for the Government was to arrive at a solution with other Tamil groups, declaring that the EPRLF would extend its support to the Government for such a solution."

In June 1990, thirteen members of the EPRLF, including its then General Secretary Padmanabha and EPRLF MP Yogasangary were gunned down, presumably by LTTE cadres, when they were at a meeting in Madras, and the LTTE-EPRLF feud is likely to be one of the permanent features of Tamil politics in the Island.

Justifying the LTTE's change of front, its theoretician Dr Anton Balasingham has alleged that Sri Lankan President Ranasinghe Premadasa was trying to catch them in a "peace trap" and weaken them, in consequence of which "our morale as a guerilla organisation will be seriously affected." In a statement issued by the political wing of the LTTE, the People's Front of Liberation Tigers (PFLT), it was alleged that "the unprovoked gunfire by the Sri Lankan police on the tiger members who went to a police station on a complaint lodged by a Muslim civilian assaulted by a Sinhalese ignited and caused the eruption of the armed clashes on a massive scale in the Batticaloa and Amparai districts in the Eastern province.

The clashes escalated into a fullfledged war when the Sri Lankan army confined in the barracks came out and engaged in armed confrontation with the Tigers." This interpretation has not accorded with the facts as reported by local residents foreign correspondents, and diplomats.

Quite apart from other factors, two other reasons for the LTTE's volte face suggest themselves. One was the Sri Lanka government's decision to have separate talks with the EPRLF, at their request, on issues pertaining to the Tamil question. The other was the government's insistence that the LTTE must lay down its arms if they were to enter the democratic process and contest elections for a dissolved Northeast Provincial Council.

The LTTE's holding on to its arms was itself a breach of trust with the government, because when it was agitating for the withdrawal of the IPKF from Sri Lankan territory, their argument had been that it would not be necessary for them to bear arms after the IPKF had withdrawn.

The conclusion, therefore, that the LTTE were all along insincere in their talks with the government, and that their main objective was to ensure the withdrawal of the IPKF and project themselves as "the sole representatives of the Tamil people," seems plausible.

These same arguments came to be applied, but with much greater force, on the occasion of the unilateral declaration of a ceasefire by the LTTE on 31 December 1990. The declaration was made through the medium of Philip Cotesse, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Sri Lanka, and was reported to be a gesture of good will to promote peace and harmony and create conditions of normalcy in the North and East.

The ceasefire was intended to be a prelude to peace talks if the Sri Lanka government responded positively and reciprocated the ceasefire.

[22 Jan 91 p 6]

[Text] The bona fides of the LTTE became immediately suspect, however, when an LTTE spokesman in London, Krishna (Kittu) laid down three conditions for the successful fruition of such talks namely recognition of a

Tamil Homeland in the North and East, self-determination of Tamils in this region, and recognition of a Tamil National Army, either as a separate unit or as part of the Island's security forces.

The reference, in the London statement, to Tamil Eelam also raised doubts in Sri Lankan government circles as to whether the LTTE had really given up its separatist goals. The crux of the matter turned on the issue whether the LTTE would lay down their arms as a prelude to peace talks, a condition considered to be an essential pre-requisite for such talks not only by the Sri Lanka government, but also by most of the Tamil militant groups and most political parties including Tamil political parties in the island.

The LTTE's stand on this matter that laying down of arms "is not in our history" put paid to any hopes that the ceasefire would lead to any political negotiations at all.

Moreover, the ceasefire itself did not stand up to the test of its stated aims for any length of time. The government responded to the LTTE call by giving a seven-day trial period effective 3 January within which security forces operations were also suspended, in the first instance, as evidence of the government's good faith.

But during this very period the LTTE violations of the ceasefire were so numerous that the State Minister for Defence was constrained to call the LTTE ceasefire "bogus." The government alleged thirty-five violations of the ceasefire by the LTTE.

Prelude

The LTTE, in turn, accused the government forces of thirty-nine violations of the ceasefire. After the expiry of the seven-day trial period, the government called off its ceasefire, and resumed hostilities against the LTTE. Significantly, while most Tamil militant groups and political parties were for the extension of the ceasefire as a prelude to political talks in which the LTTE could join, the EDPD (Eelam peoples' Democratic Front) and the DPLF (Democratic Peoples' Liberation Front) were strongly opposed to such an extension.

Apart from the ups and downs of the ceasefire itself, however, what is of interest for the study of contemporary Tamil politics in Sri Lanka is why the LTTE declared a unilateral ceasefire at all, and in attempting an answer to this question one is confronted with the surmise that the LTTE move was motivated by considerations of its own political survival. Two issues in particular appeared to have bothered the LTTE leadership.

One of these related to its changing for tunes and altered position in the state of Tamilnadu in India. The LTTE's strength as the most powerful of the Tamil guerilla groups in the island had depended to a large extent on the moral and material support that it derived from Tamilnadu state—at times both from the government

and opposition ranks in the state generally from the Tamil public and, on occasion, even from central government agencies such as RAW (Research and Analysis Wing), the intelligence arm of the government of India.

When the LTTE went [words illegible] Lanka Accord in October 1987 and got itself involved in a two-year war with the IPKF, relations between the LTTE and the Rajiv Gandhi government and between the LTTE and the AIADMAK (All-India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam) government in Madras became soured, though the LTTE still maintained cordial relations with the DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam] opposition and its leader, M. Karunanidhi.

By the time that the last IPKF contingent left Sri Lanka in March 1990, however, the political situation had changed in India as a whole and, more pertinently, in the state of Tamilnadu. In New Delhi, the Rajiv government had been replaced by the minority government of V.P. Singh, which depended on the electoral support of the Bharatiya Janatha Party (BJP), and in Madras the DMK government of M. Karunanidhi succeeded the AIADMAK government of M.G. Ramachandran.

What was relevant to the Sri Lanka situation in these developments was that the V.P. Singh minority government itself was short-lived, and was replaced by the Chandra Sekhar minority government, formed by a breakaway group of V.P. Singh's Janata Dal party, which had the backing of Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party. V.P. Singh's unrelenting pursuit of the Bofors arms deal of the erstwhile Rajiv government, in which he was trying to establish involvement of government agents in unauthorized kickbacks, was part of the story explaining the peculiar twist in the play of party politics in India, wherein Chandra Sekhar, with a splinter group of barely 50 members of Parliament was able to form a government in a House consisting of 524 members.

Two factors in the changed political situation in India were to have significant consequences for Sri Lanka. First, since the Chandra Sekhar government depended for its existence on the political support of the Congress I, Rajiv Gandhi was bound to have a considerable say on important policy issues, confronting this government, and for Gandhi Sri Lanka was a policy issue of considerable importance.

For not only was he a signatory to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of July 1987, but he had strong views about the LTTE, their "apostasy" in regard to India and their scuttling of the Accord, and the element of trust which could be placed in them for the purposes of the implementation of the Accord in terms of devolution of power to the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

Second, Rajiv Gandhi could not but view the Karunanidhi government with suspicion. Not only had Karunanidhi been a member of the National Front which ousted Gandhi, but he had also been closely identified with the LTTE. Karunanidhi had been at no pains to conceal his real sympathies in the LTTE-IPKF war, most

of which was fought in Gandhi's period of office; he was not even there to greet the last returning IPKF contingent when it landed in Madras in March 1990.

The advent of the Chandra Sekhar government seemed to spell doom for the Karunanidhi government, with instant dismissal looming over its head. The gravamen of the charge against the Madras government was that it was supporting the LTTE and giving it sanctuary in Tamilnadu, and permitting the spread of its arms culture to other disaffected parts of India, such as Assam.

The LTTE was not the only militant group, some of whose cadres had sought refuge in Tamilnadu, but the LTTE was the only Tamil militant group which was at war with the Sri Lankan government, and there was considerable justification for allegations that the Karunanidhi government was partial to the LTTE. This not only implied slackness in coastal and customs surveillance of LTTE smuggling activities, but related even to release of its cadres apprehended at sea by the Indian Navy and handed over to the state authorities.

The allegation made by the Congress-I chief in Tamilnadu that two LTTE cadres arrested in Madras were bailed out by the personal assistants of two DMK ministers was not denied by Karunanidhi; and the state government took no action to apprehend the killers of the EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Front) leader Padmanabha and twelve of his cadres while they were at a political meeting in the heart of Madras, permitting them, as one commentator has put it, to drive "all the way from Madras to Pillayar Thidal in east Thanjavur in a hijacked van; (where) they were waved through a check-post there, stayed overnight in a coconut grove nearby and got back to Jaffna in a boat after finishing a leisurely lunch the next afternoon.

Denied

The LTTE specifically denied allegations made separately by Prime Minister Chandra Sekhar as well as Assam State governor, D.D. Thakur, that it had close cooperation with the United Front for the Liberation of Assam, a secessionist group in the northeastern border state.

But the Union Law and Commerce Minister, Dr Subramaniam Swamy, after a visit to Tamilnadu, went on record saying that the State Government had lost control of three of the southern districts of the state.

Confronted with these allegations, and the threat to its own position in the state, the DMK government swooped down on all militant Tamil cadres, including injured LTTE cadres hospitalised in Tamilnadu, and by January 1991, had arrested 1286 Tamil militants, of whom 418 belonged to the LTTE, according to LTTE sources.

But the view prevailed, especially in Congress-I circles, that many LTTE militants had been given the tip-off before the crackdown, and that the DMK government

was merely going through the motions of a cosmetic exercise. Prime Minister Chandra Sekhar himself told the Rajya Sabha, in January 1991, that he was not satisfied with the steps taken by the Tamilnadu government in checking LTTE activities, and that he was doubtful as to whether the militants arrested really belonged to the LTTE.

[23 Jan 91 pp 8-9]

[Text] On 11 January 1991, Gandhi's Congress-I requested Prime Minister Chandra Sekhar to dismiss the DMK government on the grounds that (a) there was a link between the LTTE and ULFA, as well as links between the LTTE and the naxalites of Andhra Pradesh and the Punjab militants; (b) three coastal districts in Tamilnadu had been virtually handed over to the Tamil militants, and that there was a trade in sophisticated arms (AK-47s) in the state; and (c) sensitive information to which only Chief Minister Karunanidhi was privy to had reached the LTTE headquarter in Jaffna.

The Congress-I spokesman, M.J. Akbar, declared that the Prime Minister's own statements in Parliament "conclusively established the collusion of the state chief minister with elements who are not just inimical to Indian unity but are actively working to spread violence and indulged in gun running."

Charges

The charges were denied by Karunanidhi, who pointed out that it was during Mrs Indira Gandhi's premiership that there were thirty-one Tamil (terrorist) training camps in Tamilnadu, and that it was the former AIADMK Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran who had given Rs4 crores to the LTTE "in a single day," which had been used by the LTTE to purchase arms.

There was a substance of truth in both the charges and the counter-charges. Karunanidhi's partiality to the LTTE and his support of its cause in Sri Lanka were undeniable facts of Tamilnadu politics, whatever his collusion might have been in separatist movements in other states in India. It was already clear by mid-January 1991 that the days of the Karunanidhi government in Madras were numbered.

While therefore the LTTE's deteriorating position in Tamilnadu state had a lot to do with the LTTE's unilateral declaration of a ceasefire it would appear also to have been greatly concerned with its declining fortunes in the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka.

In his London statement announcing the ceasefire, LTTE leader Krishnakumar (Kittu) referred to the plight of the Tamils of this province as the reason for the LTTE's action. "Thousands of these people are undergoing untold hardships, without any form of relief," he said. But the fact was that the LTTE was not only losing out in the power struggle in the east militarily, but they were also increasingly being overtaken by events politically in the region.

Militarily, not only was the government receiving the assistance of most of the other Tamil militant groups, such as PLOTE [People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam], EDPD, DPLF, and TELO [Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization] in the "Tiger-hunt" in the North and Est, but government security forces had succeeded in wiping out a large number of LTTE bases in the Eastern province. As an EPDP (Eelam People's Democratic Party) statement put it:

The LTTE is lamenting that the people are affected by floods. Reality is their bunkers have been flooded and the effect is more on the LTTE than the people....

The bunkers of the LTTE are flooded consequent to the heavy rains in the areas. The LTTE was forced to face severe losses in its clashes in Mankulam. The LTTE was forced to face severe setbacks in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Stocks of food items stored for their consumption diminished as a result of the prolonged war. Fuel stocks have run over as they are attempting to prepare and strengthen themselves through a ceasefire.

Breather

The EDPD estimated that the LTTE had lost three-fourths of its 3,000 cadres and nearly half of its 7,500 fighters and helpers in the north, and that it had problems in getting ammunition, medicine and food. From a military point of view a breather was most welcome to the LTTE.

Politically also the dialogue which the government had started with other Tamil militant groups and Sri Lankan political parties, including Tamil political parties, threatened to isolate the LTTE permanently from the political process in the island. All other Tamil militant groups and political parties had renounced a separate Eelam in their search for a constitutional solution of the Tamil problem.

While being unequivocally opposed to any de-merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces, these Tamil groups and parties had even agreed to permit a separate Muslim council to function, together with a Tamil council, within the framework of a larger provincial Council for the merged North-East Province. While this proposal did not have the support of all Muslims—the important government-supporting All-Ceylon Muslim league (ACML) staking out the claim for reversion of the Eastern province to its separate existence—it also would have had the effect of isolating the Sinhalese in Eastern Province and making them a minority in a part of a country in which they constituted 74 percent of the population.

Kittu's London call for Tamil autonomy in the "traditional Tamil homeland" revealed the extent to which the LTTE had become divorced from the realities of Sri Lankan politics. "Traditional Tamil homelands" had long since ceased to be in the political discourse of the Tamil parties and groups negotiating with the government.

It had always had an air of unreality in that fully one-fourth of the Tamil population of Sri Lanka were resident outside the boundaries of the so-called homeland, and were least likely to change their places of abode and join the distant homeland. But even the chief argument in favour of the Tamil homeland—that Tamils needed a region of their own to live without fear and with a sense of security—was eroded by the actions of the LTTE which had the effect of driving away Tamil people from the north especially to seek refuge either in Tamil Nadu or in the Sinhala areas in the south.

Recruitment

These actions pertained to the forcible recruitment of young Tamil boys to serve in the Tiger army (the so-called "baby-brigades") or of elderly Tamil men as cooks and construction workers, building bunkers (the so-called "father brigades"), the levying of all kinds of taxes, including two gold sovereigns from families wanting to leave the Tamil areas, and the kangaroo court killings of others suspected of spying or belonging to other factions. The problem in the North and East had become, therefore, a problem of Tamils attempting to seek security from the Tigers themselves.

There was also a third reason, unconnected directly with the developments described in Tamil Nadu and in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka which also appeared to have influenced the LTTE leadership to call for a ceasefire and propose negotiations, and this related to the LTTE's declining international image.

The Tigers had lost considerable international support, including support from the Tamil expatriate community, for having broken their truce with the Premadasa government and started a fresh offensive against the security forces in June 1990 at a time when political negotiations seemed to be proceeding smoothly. The General Secretary of the political wing of the LTTE, 'Yogi' Yogaratnam, in a talk over the 'Tiger Radio' explaining the ceasefire, alleged that the government had broken faith with the LTTE in several respects—non-repeal of the Sixth amendment, continued settlement of Sinhalese in Tamil areas, posting of Sinhala constables in Batticaloa, spying by government forces on the LTTE in preparation for war, and the favour shown by the government to non-LTTE militant groups. Yogaratnam alleged that:

The Government brought members of Groups opposed to us to Colombo, housed them and also gave them military training and employed them to spy on us.

This was probably where the shoe pinched most for the LTTE, which wanted at all costs to be recognised as the only representatives qualified to speak on behalf of the Tamil community.

But beyond these *ex post facto* justifications for resuming their guerrilla war in Sri Lanka, the LTTE, in December 1990, showed distinct signs that it was becoming seriously concerned with the changing attitude of the international community towards them. In his

radio talk, Yogaratnam says that "foreign countries have been misled to believe that the war has been started by the LTTE." He accuses foreign countries of hesitating to admit "the reality of the situation," and helping the Sri Lanka government "to continue to be in power despite the "killing of Tamils in the Tamil Eelam territory." As for the LTTE's motives for the ceasefire, Yogaratnam declared:

We are ready to hold talks at any time. We unilaterally declared a ceasefire to make it plain that the Sinhala government is continuing in its massacre of people in spite of the ceasefire.

If the Sinhala government does not show a proper response to this ceasefire and continue its killing, that will provide good evidence to the foreign countries about its real nature. Specially the people living in the Eastern Province live in dire poverty. People have died of starvation. Already a great destruction has been caused there.

Considering that the majority of Tamil political parties and militant groups were engaged in political discussions with the government with a view of finding an acceptable solution to the Tamil problem at the time of the announcement of the ceasefire, and that some of them actually opposed the government's provisional acceptance of it, this statement of the LTTE lost much of its cogency.

Nor was it clear, *a priori*, how it could be argued, at the beginning of the ceasefire that the Sinhala government would continue in its massacre of people "in spite of the ceasefire," especially when it was the LTTE's own persistence in armed struggle to attain the goal of Tamil Eelam which was resulting in killings of armed personnel as well as civilians on both sides in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

Moreover, the LTTE's bona fides with regard to the ceasefire and political talks were suspect in the context of their unchanged commitment to a separate Tamil Eelam. Kittu's London statement specifically mentioned Tamil Eelam as the framework of LTTE policy, and Yogaratnam, in his radio message, mentioned that the LTTE had, in previous talks with the Government of Sri Lanka, "accepted the Provincial Councils Act only as a temporary solution."

The future of Provincial Councils figure prominently in the current political discourse in Sri Lanka, as a general device for political devolution of power, and as a specific instrument for granting regional autonomy for the Tamils of the North and East. As indicated above, the specific issue of the presently merged North-East Province has itself become a subject of current debate between those who want the merger to remain as it stands (into which category the LTTE would fall were they to enter political discussions with the Government), those who want a bicameral legislature for the merged Province with two separate ethnic Councils for Tamils and Muslims as subunits underneath the provincial

legislature (which would include most Tamil political parties and militant groups and one section of the Muslims).

Muslims represented by Ashraff's Sri Lanka Muslim Congress—SLMC and the MULF (Muslim United Liberation Front) and those who want the Eastern Province to revert to its previous separate existence (which would include another section of the Muslims, represented by the ACML, elements within the government itself, and the main Opposition Sinhala political parties, notably the Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike, and the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (EMP) of Dinesh Gunewardena).

Permanence

Under the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement of July 1987, the permanence or otherwise of the merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces was to be decided after a referendum held in the Eastern Province, which was fixed for 31 December 1988.

The President of Sri Lanka was given the discretion to postpone the referendum and it has, so far, been postponed five times—to 5 July 1989, 29 January 1990, 16 June 1990, 19 January 1991, and for 22 August 1991.

The chances of the referendum now being held appear to be very slim considering the displacement of population in the Eastern province, the continuing guerilla war, and also because an influential body of Sinhala opinion are of the view that a referendum about the future of the North and East, if it is held at all, should be held in the whole island.

The best prospects for a solution of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka would appear to lie in a modified form of the merger. Majority Tamil opinion, as represented both by the political parties and the militant groups, would now never be reconciled to the de-merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and since these parties and groups (with the sole exception of the LTTE), have now clearly renounced the ideal of the separate state and shown their willingness to enter the political mainstream within the framework of the unity of Sri Lanka, the government and all Sinhala political parties must, in the interests of peace and national harmony, endeavour to meet the aspirations of these parties and groups.

By a modified form of merger is meant the acceptance of the formula for a separate Muslim Council within the Northeast Province, and the following modifications in respect of the Sinhala inhabitants of the Eastern Province: first, that all Sinhala inhabitants of the Eastern Province living in areas contiguous with other Sinhala provinces, such as North-Central Province and Uva, be conjoined to those provinces; second, that Sinhalese living in their areas such as Seruwila and Mutur be brought within a new unit of government known as "Centrally Administered Areas."

Trincomalee itself, as a strategic area and a national harbour should be under the central government, and the principle of "centrally administered areas" should be applicable to other parts of the island as well, e.g. Mannar.

Together with these changes, serious consideration should be given to reducing the number of the other provinces from seven to four, such that Sri Lanka will then have only five provinces with five Provincial Councils, including the merged Northeast Province.

Formula

The five-province formula is not a new one—I myself proposed it some years ago, and it has since been supported independently, and in different forms by others, including interestingly, by the PLOTE group. There is no reason whatever why we should continue to give sanctity to a nine-province formula, which was conceived in the nineteenth century and handed down to us as part and parcel of a colonial administration.

There is not time better than the present to implement these suggested changes. The unit of devolution of power was always the most divisive issue in the island's recent politics, and there are indications now that there is a solution to this question on the basis of consensus and compromise.

The climate as far as Indo-Sri Lanka relations are concerned is also quite conducive to an early settlement of the ethnic problem. The V.P. Singh government had hardly any time to address itself to problems concerning Sri Lanka, although it made its good intentions quite clearly known.

The new Foreign Minister of the Chandra Sekhar government however, spelt out quite unequivocally the principles which would guide India's policy towards Sri Lanka, in an address to Parliament's Consultative Committee on External Affairs. The four parameters which would guide India's dealings with Sri Lanka, he said, were:

- (1) India will not be a party to a process of political disintegration of Sri Lanka.
- (2) India will not allow foreign forces to interfere in Sri Lanka;
- (3) India's armed forces will not be sent again to Sri Lanka; and
- (4) Indian territory will not be allowed to be used as a base for terrorist activities directed against Sri Lanka.

While Sri Lankan authorities might demur at (2) above on the grounds that it violates the principle of non-intervention, it does not in reality inject any new parameter on constraint in Sri Lanka's relations with India which did not exist before, and must be taken for what it is worth, namely as a reiteration of India's security interests in the Island which, is already there in the Letters of Exchange attached to the 1987 Accord.

The extension to Sri Lanka of the Indian variant of the Monroe Doctrine, which India applied to the Himalayan state of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim in the immediate post-independence years, was a product of India's perception of changes in her regional strategic environment arising from the Sino-American rapprochement, the Sino-Pakistani collaboration, the U.S.-Pakistani alliance and especially perceptions of naval threats to India's security after the appearance of the U.S. naval task force headed by the aircraft carrier USS Enterprise in the Bay of Bengal during the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 and, more recently, after the development of a SLBM capability by the Chinese Navy. Even before these changes, however, India considered Sri Lanka an important bastion of Indian defence, following British strategic principles.

Intervention

But it was not only problems of Indian defence which led India to adopt an interventionist policy in regard to Sri Lanka. In the eighties, Indian concerns in Sri Lanka related to security issues as well as to the Sri Lanka Tamil's demands for a separate state, and to the refugee influx to India of disaffected Tamils and Tamils who had become the targets of ethnic violence in the island.

In the fifties and sixties, the problem was quite different; India was pressing Sri Lanka to admit to Sri Lankan citizenship a larger number of ethnic Indians (mostly plantation workers) than the Sri Lankan government was prepared to do. An interesting exchange took place in the Indian Parliament in this connection in March 1953. Replying to a suggestion made by a member, Dr Shyama Prasad Mukherjee of the National Democratic Party that the success of a country's foreign policy must be judged by results and that "a show of strength" might have resolved the "Indo-Ceylon question" (i.e., the question of Sri Lanka citizenship for ethnic Indians), Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said:

The difficulty in a place like Ceylon is the fear that Ceylon has of India. The exercise of strength means more fear on the other side, not less. Here is a great big continent lying astride the north of Ceylon, and they are, I'm sorry unreasonably—just afraid of being swallowed up by India or the Indian people.

Any attempt to adopt what were called strong measures would only worsen the disease, and not remove it. Therefore, we have to pursue this policy of firmly insisting on certain things but, at the same time, remaining friendly, always doing so in a friendly manner. Remember, this also, that it is a curious situation because in the ultimate analysis each country decides for itself who its citizens should be.

Here Nehru is grudgingly conceding that "in the ultimate analysis," each country decides who its citizens shall be but at the same time advocating the application of friendly pressure to accommodate India's wishes on the subject. This was precisely India's *modus operandi* in respect of the security and demands for regional autonomy of the Sri Lanka Tamils later.

The prospects for Indo-Sri Lanka relations in the 1990s look far brighter than they did at any time in the 1980s. Foreign Minister Shukla's approach to Sri Lanka had already been spelt out by his predecessor in office in the V.P. Singh government, Inder Gujral, who had made clear that the Indian government would never send its army to intervene militarily abroad and stressed that Tamil security and welfare was ultimately the responsibility of the Sri Lanka government.

The Gujral-Shukla assertions that India would not in future get involved in military interventions abroad can hardly be taken at their face-value as a self-denying ordinance for all time, although they were certainly expressions of goodwill towards Sri Lanka. Future governments of India may well take a different view depending on existential circumstances and K. Subrahmanyam may have expressed the reality of the situation better when he said:

We have had a lot of questioning, self-doubts and hand-wringing...on the IPKF operation. All that shows that we are a sober, balanced, pluralistic and democratic nation and we ought to be proud of that. But let us not rush to the conclusion that this is the last of our foreign interventions. Let us hope and pray that it should be so though one doubts whether the curtain has come down on the Sri Lanka imbroglio and India would not be involved again at all. By all means let us decide that we shall think many times in future before sending our forces into a foreign country even at their invitation.

Inasmuch as Sri Lanka's diplomacy and international alignments have become a subject of increasing concern in New Delhi, the Sri Lankan government itself can determine the parameters within which Indo-Sri Lankan relations will operate. More than twenty-five years ago, I wrote that "India's security stake in Ceylon and her stake in the island's international alignment is real enough to make an Indian occupation of Ceylon a distinct possibility in certain contingencies such, for instance, as the appearance of a hostile power in the Indian Ocean area, or pursuit by Ceylon of a foreign policy clearly injurious to India's interests." I see no reason to retract any part of that statement now, and the IPKF experience can, in fact, be regarded as a vindication of it.

However that may be, Sri Lanka's future relations with India will depend to a large extent on the attitude the two sides will take to the Indo-Lanka Accord of 1987, and to the proposed Friendship Treaty between them, if this were to become a reality at all.

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